VOL. 43 NO. 6

Mrs. Thatcher Comes to Washington

NATIONAL REVIEW

IF YOU'RE SO SMART...

HOW COME YOU'RE NOT JAPANESE?

IQ and National Prosperity

HOLLYWOOD'S AMERICA: THEN AND NOW

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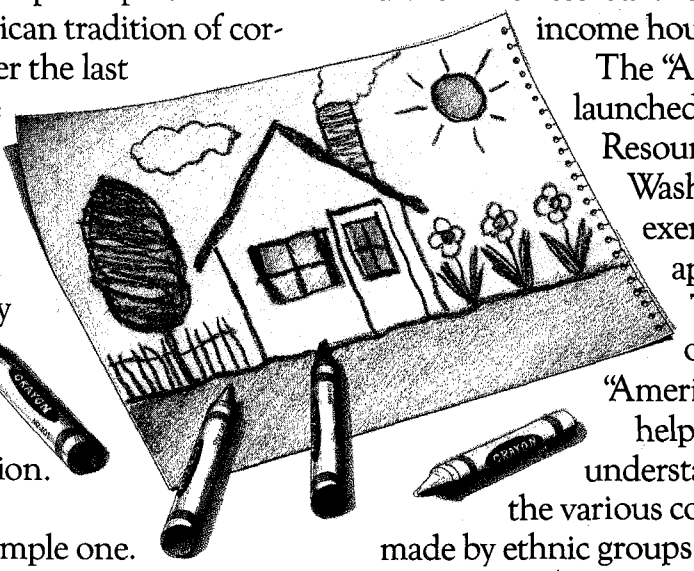

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NATIONAL REVIEW

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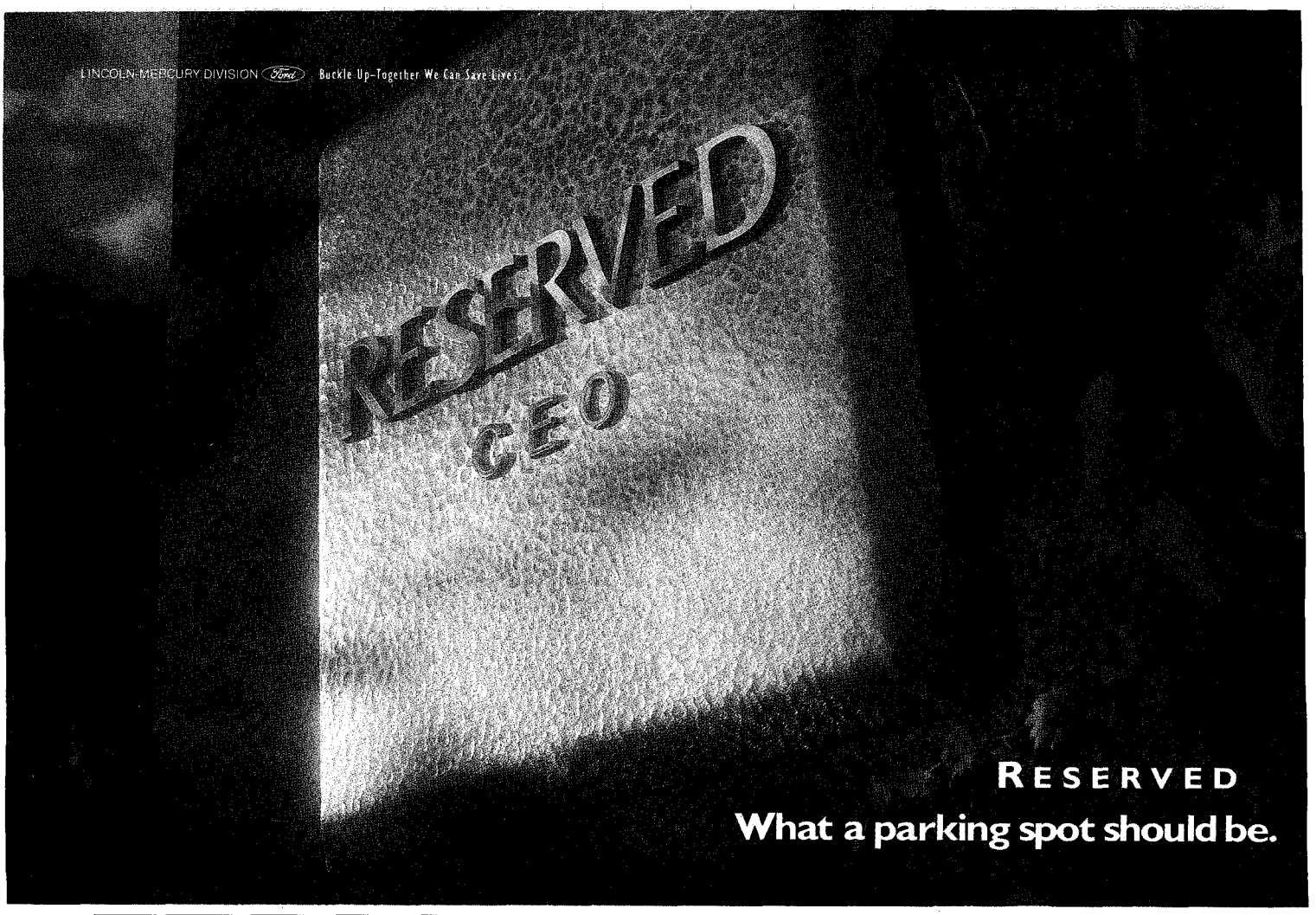

LETTERS

Cultural Pollution

Pham Huy Ty's pleas that Vietnam should be left without American recognition or trade are, to my mind, based upon an unsubstantiated hope and a false analogy ["The Coming Fall of Hanoi," Feb. 11]. He argues that the regime he detests, as I do, should not be bolstered by economic or diplomatic exchanges with the United States, since it will, like the countries of Eastern Europe, fall to an angry populace if left alone.

That hope, which I should like to share, is, however, nowhere in the article backed by fact. Mr. Pham offers no convincing evidence that the country is on the verge of a popular revolt or, for that matter, that such a revolt is likely in the next few years.

He further ignores the fact that the peoples of Eastern Europe overthrew their oppressive regimes after a long period during which the Marxist–Leninist dictatorships were undermined by economic, diplomatic, and cultural converse with the West. Such contacts were also the major influence in bringing China's intellectuals and students into open protest against the tyranny that rules them.

I would, therefore, restate my belief, emotionally abhorrent though it is, that closer contact with the Hanoi regime is essential. The system will rot from within more rapidly if there is "cultural pollution from the West," above all from the United States.

Robert S. Elegant
Middle Green near Langley, England

It is probably too much to expect that the West could undermine Marxist–Leninist regimes with cultural, economic, and diplomatic relations. In China "cultural pollution" did not prevent the Tiananmen bloodshed, and the Chinese Communist regime remains as repressive as ever. The Eastern European Communist dictatorships lasted more than forty years, and their collapse was precipitated by the changing political conditions in the Soviet Union. No such conditions exist in Asia. In fact, there are signs of a rapprochement between the Vietnamese Communists and their Chinese counterparts.

The Vietnamese regime is indeed facing a popular challenge. Thirty thousand resistance activists were recently arrested. And as Mr. Steven Erlanger of the New York Times *wrote in January, "the aging Vietnamese leadership is deeply divided over the direction of future policies."*

The time is ripe for the West to demand democratization in Vietnam. As a first step, the Communist leadership must liberate all political prisoners. —PHT

Black Art

John O'Sullivan's objections to a "South African" poster are misplaced ["From the Editor," Mar. 18].

It is an American poster, designed by Robbie Conal, an American artist from Los Angeles. Shaking black hands are framed by blue and red stripes in the background. The exhortation "We're all one color, stop the killing" refers to the

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rival gangs who start shooting when they see each other's colors.

Yes, it's an appeal to black identity rather than common human identity. There's room for improvement. But it's not a sign of impending South African genocide.

Telford Work
Los Angeles, Calif.

Radical Appeasement

As the leftist *Zeitgeist* continues to advance, people concerned about careers and rewards look for reasons to accommodate it. Its advocates try to facilitate conversions by presenting it as not nearly so threatening as imagined. There could be no better example than the book review by Joel Schwartz [Feb. 25], which praises Arthur Melzer for showing that Rousseau's political thought was "fundamentally conservative." To reassure the reader about this implausible, even frivolous, thesis, the reviewer invokes Irving Babbitt.

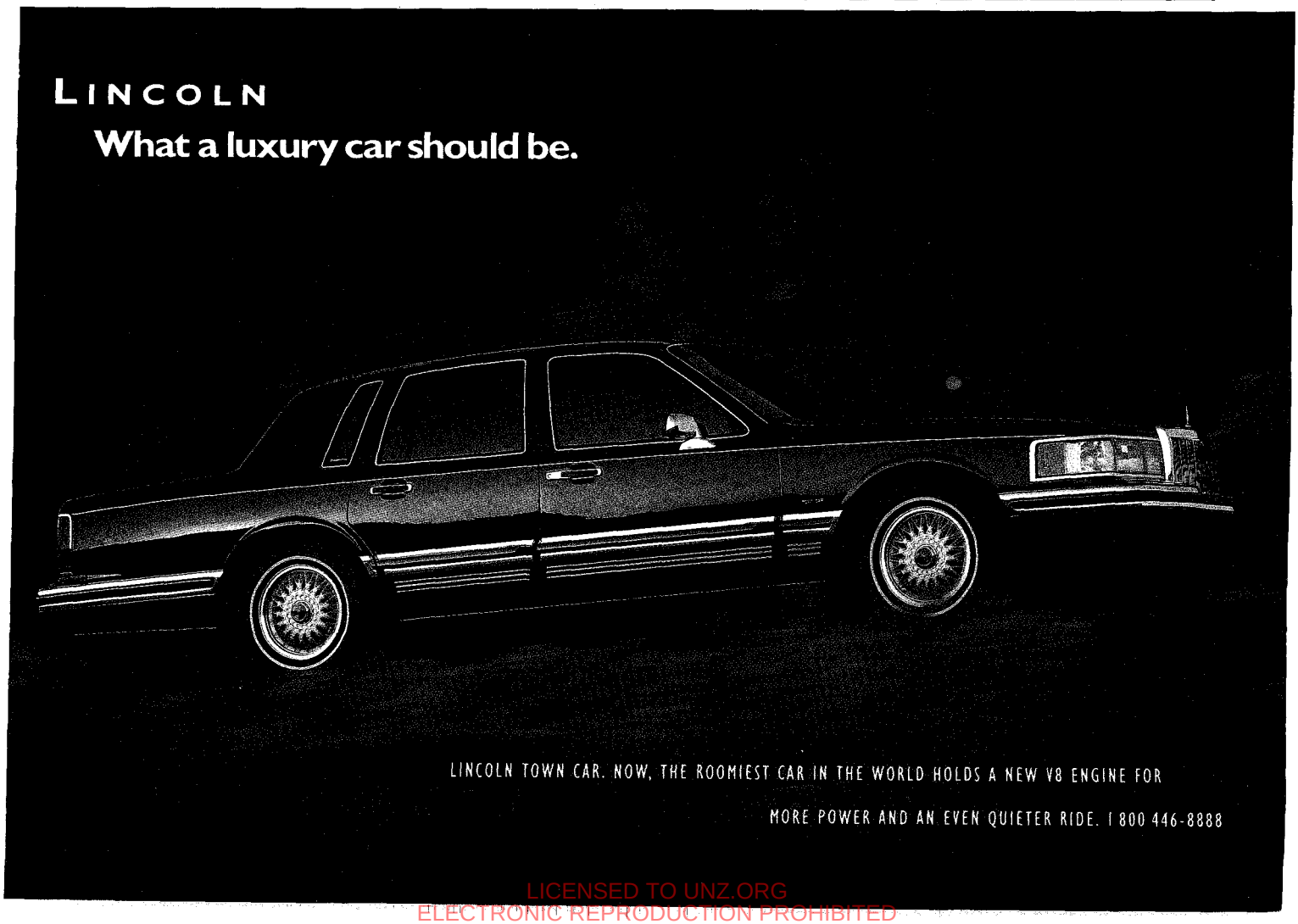
Babbitt does give Rousseau proper credit for many "shrewd" observations, but Babbitt stresses the profoundly radical nature of Rousseau's central vision, the part of his work that has moved the world. Schwartz endorses the view, advocated by Straussians, that Rousseau is a modern Plato or Aristotle. No interpretation is too far-fetched. Melzer is praised for showing that "the doctrine of the separation of powers . . . lies at the very core of Rousseau's politics." No kidding. "Rousseau's state is . . . meant to be . . . a *balance of powers*." Rousseau is actually a liberal constitutionalist, "a sincere anti-revolutionary," and an "inegalitarian" to boot. Schwartz accepts these interpretations as "brilliantly counterintuitive." Counterintuitive indeed. If you can believe all this, you can believe anything. It is offered as further evidence of Rousseau's conservatism that he is a "communitarian" and believes "a sound polity must concern itself with the moral character of its citizens." But the same is true of Rousseau's ardent disciples Robespierre and the Jacobins. Jacobinism becomes conservatism.

Now that Rousseau, the archetypal radical, has been found to be really conservative, "an unexpected friend," in Schwartz's words, even the most recalcitrant should be able to accept the inviting embrace of the leftist *Zeitgeist*. That such a move is now recommended in NATIONAL REVIEW says much about the advance of that spirit.

Claes G. Ryn
Professor of Politics
The Catholic University of America
Washington, D.C.

Claes Ryn correctly notes that there is much in Rousseau's thought at which conservatives are rightly incensed. Melzer's book does not dispute this; nor did my review, which begins by speaking of Rousseau as "the guiding light of the . . . post-Marxist Left," and concludes by referring to him as "a sworn political opponent" of conservatives.

At the same time, Rousseau would have despised the Jacobins, because he was neither an ideologue nor a fool. He was a many-faceted philosopher who wrote with profound insight about an astonishing range of human phenomena. Conservatives are wrong simply to dismiss him. Tocqueville, a man of undoubted intellectual stature and political sobriety, was greatly attracted to his thought. Rousseau's inflammatory rhetoric notwithstanding, he was indeed like Aristotle and Plato in some respects: he shared their view of the likely failure of utopian reformism, and he was alive to the dangers of tyrannical misrule. Edmund Burke himself noted that Rousseau's Emile *contains "a thousand noble hints relative to his subject, grounded on a profound knowledge of the human mind." Perhaps Mr. Ryn's conservatism is so pure that he would dismiss Burke as a mere careerist eager to accommodate the leftist* Zeitgeist. —JS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FROM THE EDITOR

Your Obedient Servants

■ May I draw the attention of Kremlinologists among our readers to some changes on the accompanying podium?

Joseph Sobran, who differed amicably with NATIONAL REVIEW on the Gulf War and who expects to differ amicably with us on foreign policy in general, is withdrawing as Senior Editor to take up the new post of Critic-at-Large. In this role he will roam the Death Valley of contemporary culture looking for vultures to slay.

His first essay, due in our next issue, will pose an interesting test of sincerity for the "arts community." For it will shock and horrify the very people who are always telling us what good things shock and horror are in the arts. *Etonne-nous, Joseph.*

Meanwhile, we welcome aboard a new Senior Editor—Peter W. Rodman, who held senior White House posts on foreign policy under four Republican Presidents and was Director of Policy Planning at the State Department under President Reagan.

Readers will recall that Mr. Rodman, currently a fellow at the Johns Hopkins Foreign Policy Institute, demolished the case for relying on economic sanctions against Iraq when Senator Nunn was gravely commending them. His article on NATO and Eastern Europe will appear soon.

Joining our Contributing Editors is Eliot Cohen—Professor of Strategic Studies at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies and, before that, a senior member of the policy planning staff at the Pentagon—whose last *NR* article predicted accurately that our Arab allies, far from being weak sisters, would prove more determined than State to rid the region of Saddam Hussein.

Students of ideology will note darkly that Professor Cohen is also a Contributing Editor to *The New Republic*. Is this a sinister case of me-tooism?

It may well be. But as readers of our editorials on the Gulf War, which Professor Cohen helped to shape, will agree, his robust strategic realism is perfectly at home at *NR*. How *The New Republic*'s more liberal readers will take it? . . . Well, let us not inquire into private grief.

Finally, Christopher Buckley, believing that a contributor should contribute and finding that his duties as editor of *FYI* prevent his contributing to *NR*, feels that he should disavow his masthead title. We will hope to persuade him to contribute anyway.

With that one exception, we believe that these changes, plus Bill Bennett's earlier appointment as a Senior Editor, will strengthen *NR*'s authority and add to its liveliness. No doubt you will let me know if you disagree. I can generally count on you for that.

■ I am sorry to report that the Margaret Thatcher Institute newsletter ("Dedicated to Liberty, Free Enterprise, and Private Property") is to suspend publication indefinitely.

There is, as it happens, no connection between that and Mrs. Thatcher's resignation. Dennis E. Pauley, its director, merely appropriated her name for a newsletter that hits at statist and liberal–left follies everywhere, but especially in his hometown of Tampa, Florida. I always felt that if I ever found myself in Tampa, I would know exactly whom to vote against.

Mr. Pauley has concluded that, in the four years he has been publishing, "socialism has gained more . . . than it had for the last 25." This strikes me as too gloomy, given that the previous 25 years included Lyndon Johnson's "Great Society," Richard Nixon's wage and price controls, and Jimmy Carter's Presidency.

Still, he went out in fine style. His last issue predicted a handy victory for U.S. forces in the Gulf and commented: "Bear in mind that all our troops are professionals and volunteered to make the Iraqis die for their country." A unique libertarian perspective. I shall miss it.

—JOHN O'SULLIVAN

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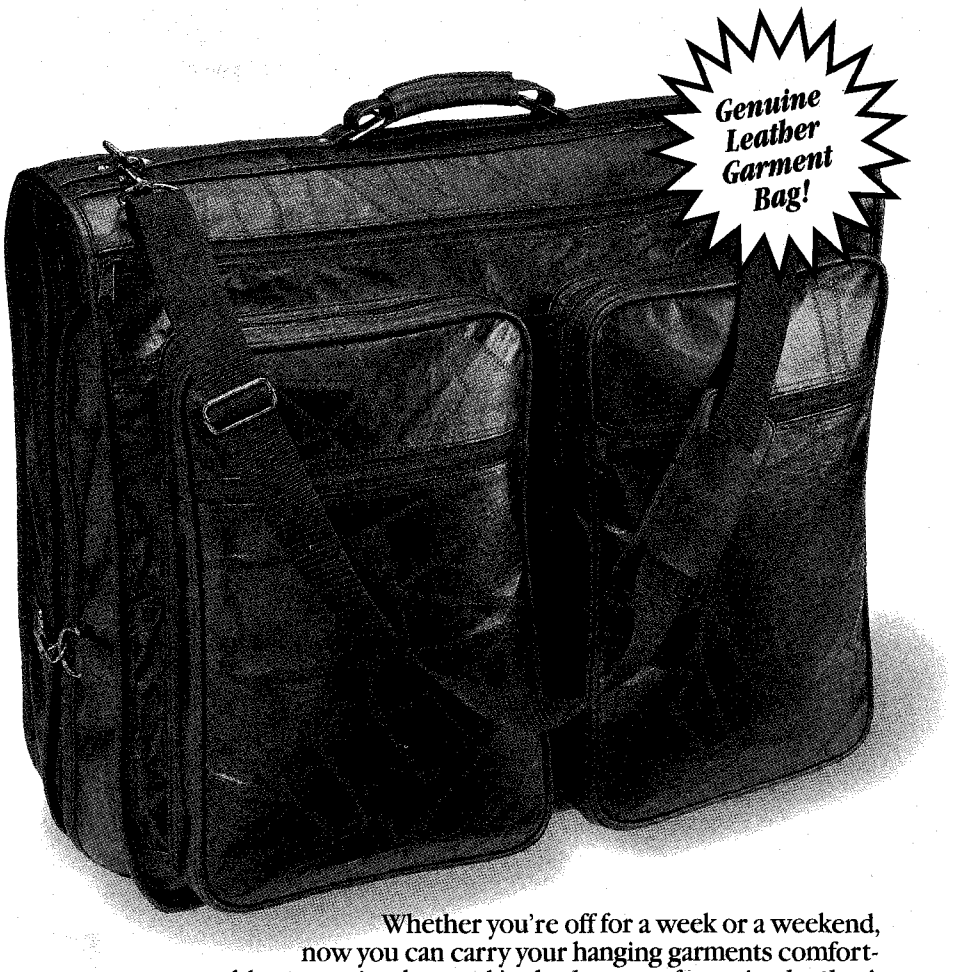

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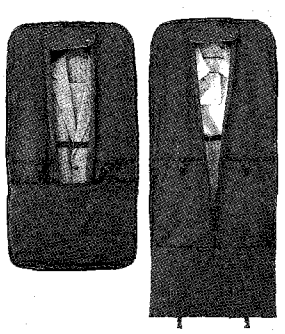

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ON THE RECORD

■ There are signs here and there that Democrats may be learning from adversity. Speaking to regional caucus of Democratic National Committee a fortnight back, Boston U President **John Silber** urged Democrats to appeal to working Americans, who "are not interested in a party that denies them upward mobility." . . . Former Sen. **Paul Tsongas** of Massachusetts, who plans to run for Presidency as a "pro-business liberal," favors lowering the capital-gains tax and building more nuclear-power plants, two no-nos for establishment-liberal Democrats. **Thomas Mann**, of Brookings Institution, says Tsongas seems "more concerned with fostering economic growth than distributing the benefits of the growth." . . . Sen. **Joseph Lieberman** of Connecticut—a rising star in the Senate, along with **Al Gore** (Tenn.) and **Charles Robb** (Va.), because of their aye votes on Desert Storm—believes the Democratic Party has become the party that "cares about meeting social needs and not making the economy go. It has focused on how to divide the pie, and not on the fact the pie is shrinking." . . . *New York Times* report on fortunes of Democrats, post Desert Storm vote, points out that while official leadership in both House and Senate (**Mitchell**, **Gray**, **Foley**, **Gephardt**) went against the President, important committee chairmen in House—**Dante Fascell** (Foreign Affairs), **Les Aspin** (Armed Services), **David McCurdy** (Intelligence)—went with Administration. . . . **Dianne Feinstein**, who will be running against appointed Republican Sen. **John Seymour** (R., Calif.) next year, played her cards right in supporting the war. A *Los Angeles Times* poll shows 75 per cent of California Democrats agree with her position. . . . **Norman Ornstein** of American Enterprise Institute has modified good news for Democrats. By a 37 to 21 per cent margin, he says, Americans prefer the Democrats to **Saddam Hussein**'s Ba'ath Party.

■ *Glasnost* has overtaken Soviet journalist-apologist **Vladimir Posner**, a usually clear expositor of the Soviet line. On recent **Joan Rivers** show the onetime Kremlin mouthpiece confessed he's a **Yeltsin** man, suggested it is time for **Gorbachev** to go, and predicted that ten years from now "there's not going to be a Soviet Union." . . . **Yelena Bonner**, **Andrei Sakharov**'s widow, feels there will be "thousands of prisoners of conscience" again in Soviet Union. She has called on Nobel Committee to strike Sakharov's name from list of Nobel laureates, not wanting him listed alongside Gorbachev, whom she blames for Lithuanian bloodshed. . . . Radio Free Europe's acting director, **Robert Gillette**, says Latvian journalists, muzzled by new press restrictions, are feeding reports to RFE in Munich to be broadcast back to Baltics. . . . Resistance International reports **Slava Rodionov**, a former prisoner of conscience, has established the first non-state religious school in Soviet Union and will be launching a Christian radio station. He is also involved in publishing Christian textbooks and literature for young people. (For further details contact Resistance International president **Michail Makarenko**, 202-488-7453.) . . . Religious persecution has intensified in China since Tiananmen Square. Puebla Institute reports mass arrests, detentions, brainwashing, and torture of Christian leaders. Among the imprisoned are twenty Catholic bishops. . . . China also tried unsuccessfully to pull **Zhang Yimou**'s movie *Ju Dou* from Oscar contention. . . . Of interest to Catholics in the States, a forum—"The Catholic Public Servant"—under auspices of Ethics and Public Policy Center, Washington, D.C., and Sacred Heart University, Fairfield, Conn., on Saturday, April 20, at Schine Auditorium in Fairfield. Featuring: former Gov. **Hugh Carey** on the Executive Branch; Rep. **Henry Hyde** on the Legislative Branch; Judge **James L. Buckley** on the Judicial Branch. Admission free. (For info: 203-637-5362, or 203-324-7199.)

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"I was a TV military expert."

■ What's in a name? Poll by Joint Center of Political and Economic Studies comes up with surprising results: only 15 per cent of blacks like the name "African-American"; 72 per cent prefer "black"; 3 per cent like "Afro-American"; 2 per cent like "Negro." . . . **Gallup** poll reports that 63 per cent of Americans believe it was OK for Arizonans to reject making **Martin Luther King** Day a paid state holiday. . . . *Washington Post*'s black columnist **William Raspberry** has outraged black activists by opposing new affirmative-action civil-rights bill now working its way through Congress. "The black consensus," says Raspberry, "is that white resistance to the agenda of the civil-rights leadership is nothing more than latter-day racism. . . . My own view is not that the people have changed but that black people's goals have been transformed. We still say we want to be judged by the 'content of our character,' but our agenda is based on the color of our skin."

■ *Washington Post* columnist and **MacNeil–Lehrer** Democratic Party analyst **Mark Shields** came away from recent DNC meeting in Washington thoroughly discouraged about Democratic prospects. "If they were a baseball team, the Democrats would be the Boston Red Sox or the old Brooklyn Dodgers, never able to win the Big One. If they were a car-rental company, they'd be Avis. If the Democrats were an Olympic entry they would be the Jamaican bobsled team."

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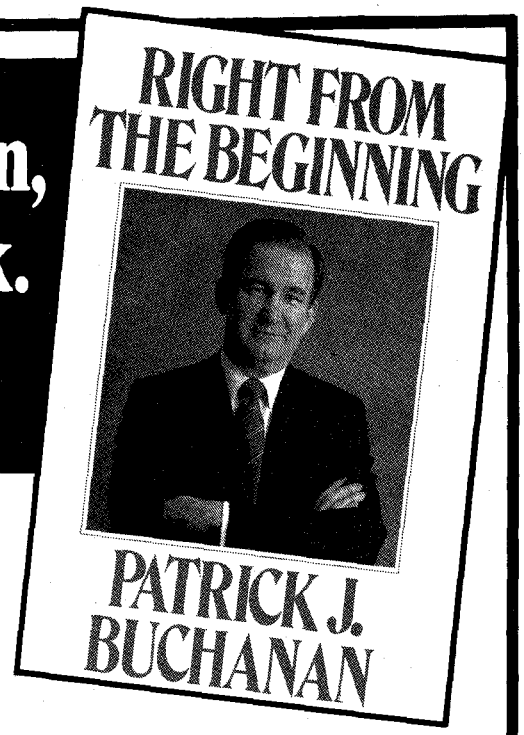

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THE WEEK

■ The New World Order paid another small dividend when Manuel Noriega announced from his prison cell that he's become a born-again Christian.

■ Now that the war is over, the Democrats and the press have started blaming the President for winning it. They have been aided by Jim Baker's State Department, which continues to send out much the same sort of confusing signals to America that April Glaspie sent to Saddam Hussein in their now infamous meeting a week before he went into Kuwait. In the old days, such a gross miscalculation probably would have led to the resignation of Miss Glaspie's boss, Mr. Baker, but times have changed, and even critics must concede the Secretary of State wiped the slate clean by putting together the formidable coalition. White House sources tell us that Miss Glaspie's own cable account of the meeting—which has not been released—does not differ substantively from the account released by Baghdad a few months back, the implication being that she did more or less give the Iraqi strongman the green light. All of which confirms our suspicion that the folks in the Bush Administration are better at executing a policy than at coming up with one.

■ Congressman Henry Hyde, who was one of the hosts of *NR*'s 35th Anniversary Dinner, and the ACLU, which was not, have teamed up to fight campus PCness. Hyde has sponsored a bill, supported by the ACLU, which would bar colleges that receive federal funds from disciplining students for politically impolite utterances. At a time when campuses are prowled by armies of ideological Miss Mannerses, Hyde's intention, and the ACLU's endorsement of it, are welcome signs. We note with a qualm, however, that Hyde's bill is modeled on the Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1987—Congress's answer to the Supreme Court's *Grove City* decision—which, in effect, makes private colleges arms of the state so long as any of their students receive any form of federal aid. In an ideal world, it would take something less drastic than orders from Washington to compel the college Comstocks to lighten up.

■ Once again a Republican Administration has nominated a judge who believes in the Constitution for a slot on the U.S. Court of Appeals, and once again this has scandalized the Beltway. In this case the nominee is Kenneth L. Ryskamp of Miami, whose bid last year died when Congress adjourned without having held any hearings. The judge is back up for consideration again, but by now the forces against him—e.g., Norman Lear's People for the American Way and the American Civil Liberties Union—have had time to wage a war of innuendo in the press. In hearings last week before the Judiciary Committee, inquisitors Ted Kennedy of Chappaquiddick, Joe Biden of the Doctored Résumé, and Howard Metzenbaum of the It Slipped My Mind $250,000 Finder's Fee have scored the judge for "insensitivity" and membership in a Coral Gables country club. We could probably save a lot of time, money, and effort if Messrs. Kennedy, Biden, and Metzenbaum would simply skip the hearings altogether, don their white sheets and hoods, and mark out the unacceptable for us by burning crosses on their front lawns.

■ A charity has auctioned off a painting by Senator Edward M. Kennedy. Wait; do we detect the distinctive brushstrokes of Theodore Sorensen?

■ At the California Democratic Party convention in Oakland, wild-eyed conventioneers mobbed the U.S. English booth, hurled brochures to the floor, and shouted, "You whites are intruders! Spanish should be the spoken language!" Demonstrating their heartfelt commitment to free speech, party leaders shut down the U.S. English booth. Had the hooligans targeted the Rainbow Coalition or NOW or ACT-UP, no doubt the Democrats would have taken the same step: expelled U.S. English.

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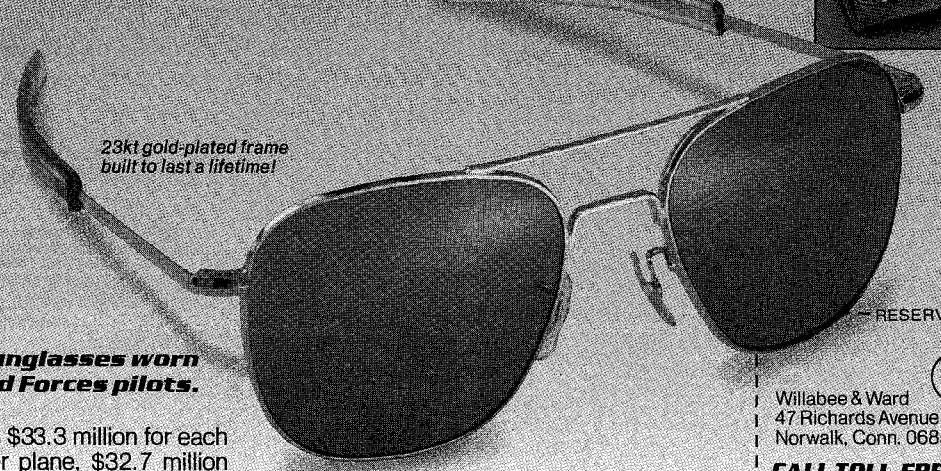

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■ Connecticut's new governor, Lowell Weicker, has already worn out such welcome as he had by proposing a state income tax, after winning election by pledging not to seek one. It must be heartening to New Jersey's Jim Florio to learn that he has a disciple. Weicker's optimism and capacity for self-justification are, however, indomitable. "I'll tell you one thing that pleases me right off the bat," he says. "Everybody is pissed off. Not one side or the other, but everybody. Now doesn't that tell you this plan is fair?" Yes, in the sense that the Black Death was fair. The tax would take 6 per cent of the earned income of everyone in the state. Weicker joins Florio, Mario Cuomo, and Michael Dukakis as one of the most unpopular men on the Eastern Seaboard.

■ One of these days New York's St. Patrick's Day parade may ignite a new civil war. Each year it becomes the subject of hotter contention. In 1991, the big issue was whether an explicitly homosexual contingent should march. The organizers said no, but Mayor Dinkins invited the gays to join his party, which was booed, called names, and pelted with a couple of beer cans. Various liberal newspaper columnists later blamed Cardinal O'Connor for the unpleasantness, although he had adjured his flock to refrain from violence, verbal or physical. Just what constitutes "verbal" violence isn't clear, since anyone who advertises what most Catholics regard as twisted sexual conduct at an Irish Catholic festivity can hardly ask the crowd to refrain from heckling. "Tolerance" is increasingly used to prohibit the expression of moral opinions which some politically powerful group dislikes. Dinkins, as usual, displayed this brand of one-way sensitivity; he must be counting on driving all remaining Catholics out of the city before the next election. Gone is the New York where St. Pat's was always gay in the older sense.

■ We are pleased to note that the Supreme Court, ruling in *Automobile Workers* v. *Johnson Controls*—the case brought on behalf of women prevented by company policy from working in a lead-battery factory on the grounds that lead may harm fetuses—took the role of the villains in a Dickens novel or a Shaw play: *Get thee to a lead-battery factory!* Being villainous ourselves, we cannot dispute the argument that corporate chivalry must not stand in the way of economic opportunity. It seems strange to us, however, that the Court dismissed so casually the prospect of the lawsuits for birth defects that the employers of pregnant women might eventually face. Justice Blackmun said the possibility of such suits was "remote at best" which suggests that Justice Blackmun hasn't been in a court recently. If the law is in favor of placing responsibility in parents' hands, then the law should make sure it leaves it there, when the child of some working mother, claiming he was damaged in her womb, comes a-suing.

■ The magnitude of the Reagan Administration's economic achievement is slowly being admitted. We now know, thanks to recently released Census Bureau figures, that the Reagan years were a golden age for black entrepreneurs: the number of black-owned businesses rose 38 per cent between 1982 and 1987, or nearly three times the 14 per cent growth in all U.S. companies. But this trend is now "threatened," according to the *Wall Street Journal*, by cutbacks in government programs specifically designed to aid minorities. A more patronizing and demeaning attitude toward black businessmen could hardly be imagined, for it is clear that *all* businesses—black- and white-owned—are encountering rough times. Could the problem be that black businessmen are suffering from higher business taxes, more federal regulations, a recently increased capital-gains tax rate, the record credit demands of the Federal Government, etc., etc.—just like their white counterparts? And after researching that, perhaps someone can determine why the good news on black businesses was not publicized during the Eighties, which might have helped correct the perception of Reaganomics as being pro-rich and anti-minority. Or have we just answered that?

■ According to a newspaper headline, "Economic growth shrinks 2 per cent." With growth shrinking, we anticipate advancing decline until shrinkage tops out and resumes declining. Neither major party has yet claimed the credit for this, and we can't imagine why not.

■ Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari continues to surprise. He chose March 18—anniversary of the day 53 years earlier when Mexico expropriated (i.e., stole) its foreign-owned oil industry—to announce the closing of Mexico City's major oil refinery. It was the single best way to deal with the air pollution that accounts for the ailments of 30 per

$70 Billion More, Please

They say the banks are healthy;
  They say we can't compare
Commercial banks with S&Ls;
  They say we mustn't stare
As Mr. Seidman signals
  His fund is running dry;
They say it's rude to stamp and scream
  Or throw a custard pie.

W. H. VON DREELE

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cent of all patients in Mexico City hospitals. It will cost the city an estimated half-billion dollars to replace the refinery. The move was fiercely resisted by Pemex, the huge nationalized oil company, and by the powerful oil-industry unions. But this is not the first time Salinas has bucked vested interests in the interest of a better life for his people. One suspects he is proving a sad disappointment to the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), which frowns on revolutionary solutions to the woes that 72 years of PRI rule have brought to the land of the Incas.

■ Although it had misgivings about sending American troops to liberate Kuwait, the *New York Times* does favor the use of force to accomplish weightier objectives. When Iraq held a *Times* man and some two dozen other reporters after the ceasefire, *Times* foreign editor Bernard Gwertzman declared that "the Iraqis should be informed that the U.S. troops in Iraq will not withdraw until there is an accounting of the freedom of the missing journalists." Iraq released the reporters before we had finished organizing our big "No blood for ink" rally.

■ A San Francisco public-broadcasting station (KQED) has filed suit arguing that TV cameras should be allowed in San Quentin's gas chamber during an execution. "This is being done in our name on our behalf with our money," says station executive Michael Schwarz. Perhaps for his next show, Mr. Schwarz will bring Bill Moyers and his cameras into a clinic and show a Medicaid abortion being performed. Better yet, perhaps he will allow viewers into his upcoming meetings with his lawyers so that the public can learn what the state-subsidized "journalists" at KQED are doing "in our name on our behalf with our money."

■ New York's *Daily News* has finally been purchased, and therefore redeemed from extinction, by the billionaire British publisher Robert Maxwell, a self-proclaimed socialist whose popularity among union leaders rivals that of Saddam Hussein in Tel Aviv. His ownership of other papers has been stormy, and his scruples have sometimes been questioned. One unionist has said of him, "He could charm the birds out of the trees, and shoot them." His (unauthorized) biographer wrote, "He is a democrat by conviction and a dictator by practice," and was subsequently sued by his subject. As Maxwell himself puts it, "When I pass a belt, I cannot resist hitting below it." One senses the crystallization of a certain consensus. At any rate, New York has kept a cherished old newspaper and gained a colorful new personality.

■ It transpires that Maryland's Governor Donald Schaefer didn't check his facts before commuting the sentences of those eight alleged battered women who had killed their husbands. The *Baltimore Sun* reports that the governor was unaware that one had hired a hit man and stood to collect $22,000 in life insurance. Another had testified in court that her husband had never struck her. Still others' stories were contradicted by witnesses and evidence. Safe-sex tips for Maryland men: Find out about your partner's sexual history, and make sure she's never been pardoned by Donald Schaefer.

■ A sex-novelty shop in Greenwich Village, the *New York Post* reports, has been fined $25,000 by the New York City Human Rights Commission for discriminating against an employee whose "funereal" appearance suggested he might have AIDS. "It's a great victory for me and the community that has stood behind me in this fight for people with AIDS," said the victim of this outrage, "John Doe." "I went through hell, but I loved my job and I'd go back to work tomorrow." Alas, the triumphant Mr. Doe still cannot resume his duties at the Pleasure Chest. It somehow detracts from the festive atmosphere of the place, the store's owners have found, to have a ravaged symbol of human mortality ringing up customer purchases. An appeal has been filed.

■ Former Senator Paul Tsongas is gearing up to seek the Democratic presidential nomination. Let's see: A liberal technocrat, from Massachusetts, with spooky eyebrows? How refreshing!

Law Breakers And Law Makers

THE COPS of two countries have been taking a beating this month. Here, it is the ongoing furor over the Los Angeles Police Department and its evident fondness for nightsticks. Meanwhile, Britain was rocked by the appeals-court decision that the Birmingham Six—supposed IRA terrorists who had been convicted for bombing a pub in the Seventies—were in fact not guilty, and that they should be released from the cells in which they had spent more than a decade.

The Los Angeles beating was indefensible, and appropriate sanctions should follow. At the same time, we must recognize that the incident is being exploited by individuals who would like a) to re-energize the myth that "institutionalized racism" permeates the country; b) to find further ammunition with which to oppose pending presidential anti-crime initiatives; and c) to shore up the pseudo-constitutional restraints on the police imposed by recent Supreme Courts. While the beating seen on tape was horrific, there aren't more than a handful of ordinary citizens

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in Los Angeles or elsewhere who don't understand that their well-being is more dependent upon the police than upon the ACLU.

Having created a social and legal environment in this country in which more than half of all Americans living in urban areas are afraid to walk their neighborhoods after dark, some American liberals are now determined to export their achievement abroad. Anthony Lewis drew a moral from the Birmingham Six for the home folks: It could not have happened if the Brits had had our constitutional protections. But of course, by "constitutional protections," Anthony Lewis means protections derived from the Constitution as he and other liberals read it. There was also, he said, a lesson to be learned by "Americans who scorn constitutional rights for criminal defendants." Are such readings necessary to prevent Birmingham-style miscarriages of justices? Would they rein in rogue policemen like the ones in Los Angeles?

Supreme Court decisions such as *Miranda* have blocked police access to an investigative tool thought to be consistent with the American Constitution for the previous 175 years—suspects' confessions. The traditional Fifth Amendment right not to be *compelled* to incriminate oneself has been effectively transformed into a right not to be asked questions by the police. But the effects of *Miranda* have been relatively subtle compared to those of the exclusionary rule, in which evidence of real guns and drugs is denied to juries.

Mr. Lewis is probably right that the manufactured confessions that we now learn were responsible for the Birmingham Six's convictions would not have occurred in the American system. The problem, however, is that neither would thousands of other genuine confessions responsible for removing criminals from British streets. Doctored confessions are a risk inherent in any system, *Miranda* or non-*Miranda*, which allows defendants' confessions to be introduced at trial. Miscarriages of justice such as the one in the Birmingham Six case could be entirely avoided only by prohibiting police from talking with criminal suspects altogether. So the Supreme Court's decision allowing appeals courts to admit coerced confessions if they are confirmed by other evidence is a reasonable corrective to its earlier lenity.

For, almost without exception, the ACLU's Constitution does not serve to protect the innocent at the cost of a few guilty persons going free. It serves mainly to protect guilty persons with only theoretical benefit to the innocent. For Los Angeles lived under the Warren Court just like the rest of us, and cops there still beat up a traffic violator. Whenever the state amasses power, the possibility exists that it will be misused, or abused. That is a comment on human beings, not necessarily on the law. No law, nor any legal scholar, would justify the wilding Los Angeles cops in what they did—just as no British law permits the long-term incarceration of innocent men. The remedy, when such things occur, is to redouble our efforts to enforce the laws which exist, not to hunt up new ones.

On to Baghdad?

THE ADMINISTRATION, against its will, has been drawn into the cauldron of Iraq's internal struggle, but it shies away from the risks of further involvement. In our judgment, the cause is just and the Administration should engage more forthrightly.

In the name of enforcing the ceasefire, U.S. forces now occupying the southeastern 15 per cent of Iraq's national territory have exercised a veto over Saddam's use of certain of his military forces to crush the ongoing rebellions, particularly in the Basra area. First we stated that use of chemical weapons would invite our response; then the issue was use of fixed-wing aircraft. Then we shot down two of Saddam's planes.

The rationale, however, was the threat to our forces, not an intent to use our leverage to affect the course of the battles. What looked like an incremental extension of our security umbrella over the rebels was not. But it was enough to dramatize our capability and therefore to tag us with a certain responsibility.

The motives for a bolder course are not hard to understand. Morally, how can we stand idly by while Saddam crushes the hopes for change that our victory in Kuwait has aroused in Iraq? Strategically, what are the chances for peace and security in the Middle East if he survives in power? His humiliation in Kuwait has done much to reduce his political weight in the region, but his recovery—particularly if he defiantly succeeds in destroying his opposition under the very eyes of the American occupiers—cannot be excluded. Politically, what price do we pay if opposition forces uncongenial to us do take over from him because we refrained from exerting any influence for a better outcome?

The risks of getting embroiled in this turmoil are not hard to understand either. We may have neither military plans for squeezing Baghdad nor a political strategy for handling the internal or international complexities of it. But this argues for a more forthright and systematic policy, lest the present one draw us in in the clumsiest and riskiest way.

Let us organize our Arab coalition partners behind the explicit goal of replacing the Ba'ath regime. Let the grand coalition of Iraqi opposition groups now in Damascus form a government in exile. Let us quickly develop military plans for pressing Baghdad

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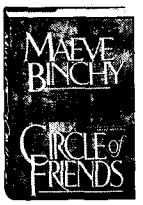

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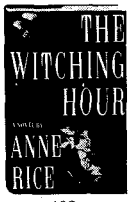

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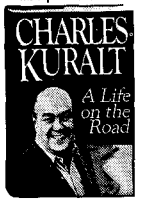

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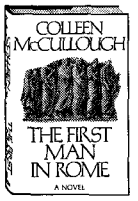

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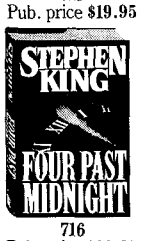

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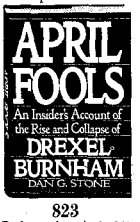

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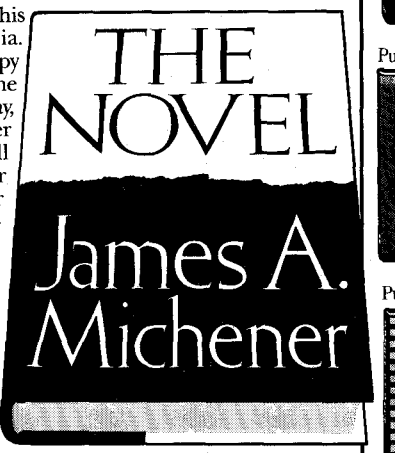
From *The Source* to *Caribbean*, James A. Michener has led millions of readers to other worlds and distant times. Today he beguiles us once more with *The Novel*, which opens up the quiet lands of Pennsylvania Dutch country and the frenetic universe of New York City publishing.

This is the story of Lucas Yoder, a writer with a successful career behind him and his biggest challenge ahead. Yoder has just finished his eighth novel starring his "beloved Dutch" of rural Pennsylvania. Yoder's publishers, however, aren't happy with the book, which deals mainly with the land itself. It's too "ecological," they say, your fans will be disappointed. Yoder resists, confident that his readers will appreciate his concerns. Then a murder panics the Amish community, and Yoder has to save his integrity from his publisher *and* reclaim his township from a killer.

Like all of Michener's best sellers, *The Novel* is thoughtful and rich in detail. But what makes this extra interesting is Michener's attention to a topic that's obviously near and dear to the man's heart: the business of writing, and the pleasures of reading. And Michener fans will *not* want to miss what he has to say on that subject.



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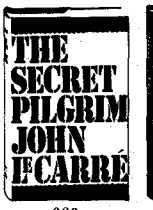

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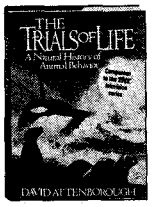

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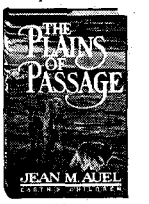

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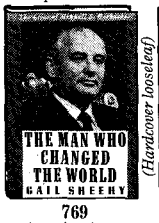

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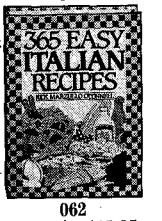

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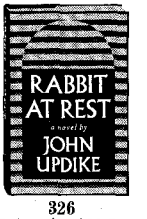

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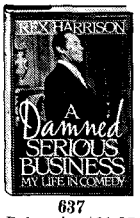

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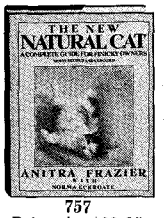

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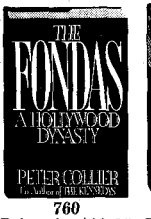

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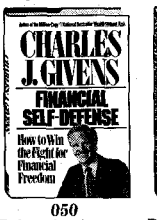

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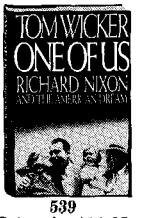

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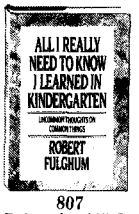

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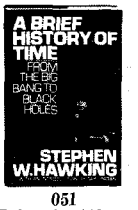

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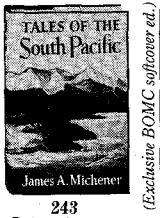

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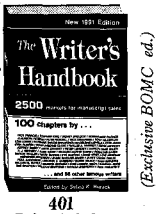

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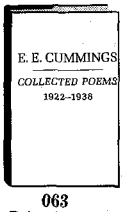

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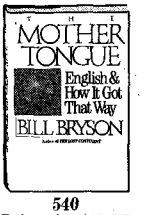

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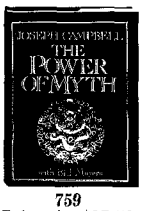

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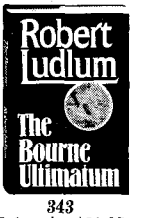

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and for intervening more directly to protect the rebels in both north and south. Let us, our Arab partners, and those others willing to join us face down the predictable Soviet and other opposition in the United Nations.

Let us finish the job we started.

Will the USSR Survive?

EVENTS SEEM to be pushing the Soviet Union deeper into crisis. With the Russian parliament expected to vote soon on whether to oust Boris Yeltsin from the presidency, and with mass pro-Yeltsin demonstrations planned in Moscow, Mikhail Gorbachev has issued a decree placing security in the capital under central control and banning the proposed demonstrations. This further centralization follows the referendum on the "union" of Soviet republics designed to strengthen Gorbachev's hold on power. But will such moves really reinforce Soviet authority as intended, or will they expose it to greater stress and fragmentation?

One thing the referendum will not do is settle the nationalities issue in the Soviet Union. By its nature, a nationwide referendum organized in Moscow on the right of republics to secede places the destiny of the various republics in the hands of the center. The decision to hold a referendum of this kind, in fact, recalls the "*kolkhoz* democracy" of the 1950s, in which a collective farmer who wished to leave the *kolkhoz* had his fate decided by a vote of his fellow collective farmers. The latter, motivated principally by envy, invariably rejected his request to leave.

At the same time, the referendum was constructed to play on Soviet citizens' fear of civil chaos. Voters were asked if they wanted to preserve the Soviet Union as a "renewed federation of equal sovereign republics in which human rights and the freedom of people of all nationalities" would be guaranteed. This goal is, in fact, unachievable, but the ballot included no alternative. The alternative was spelled out instead by the Party-controlled press, which assured people that without a "renewed federation" they could look forward to civil war.

Still, the referendum may well be treated as an expression of the popular will in the months ahead. In a proclamation on the referendum on March 22, the Supreme Soviet described its results as "final and having legal force on the entire territory of the Soviet Union."

This bears comparison with the elections to the Supreme Soviet in 1989, which, with the help of prepared lists from social organizations and packed halls and pre-election commissions, produced a reliable Communist majority in the Soviet parliament. Every undemocratic measure is now approved by the "democratic" Soviet parliament; in the same way, the results of the referendum could be taken to justify the imposition of direct presidential rule in any one of six rebellious republics.

In January, it seemed that everything was in place to impose presidential rule in the Baltics. Punitive units had been sent into Lithuania and Latvia, shadowy committees of "National Salvation" had been formed, and unarmed civilians had been killed as the army seized strategic buildings. For some reason, however, the takeover was halted. One explanation is that the central authorities had everything necessary for a takeover except a justification that the West would accept.

If this is the case, the rebellious republics have good reason to fear the results of the March 17 referendum. Undemocratic itself, it may be enough to provide that all-important element in Soviet repressive measures—an explanation sufficient to confuse the outside world about its real meaning. With a simple yes vote, Soviet citizens have acted to reinforce the ties that bind them and strengthen the system which has denied them a genuine voice for more than 73 years. But will repression succeed, or will it provoke greater trouble for the center? The problem for the Kremlin is that it can no longer be certain of the answer.

It's Getting Sticky

As we shoot the planes that shoot
  Those shooting on the ground,
Does this mean we'll intervene
  With Shi'ites who seem sound?
Are we, like those under Ike,
  About to take command?
Have we come this far with some
  Tar baby by the hand?

W. H. VON DREELE

The Quotas Issue

LAST YEAR's "civil-rights" bill is back, despite George Bush's veto. This time the Democrats smell blood. They note that Bush has none of Ronald Reagan's principled resistance to minority-preference requirements; and they are making the curious argument that the bill is owed to black GIs who served in the Gulf.

No genuine rights depend, one way or the other, on such contingencies as war. If the bill serves justice, it should pass regardless of whether any blacks served in the Gulf at all. If it does not, nothing can

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justify its passage. As it stands, the bill could award jobs to blacks who didn't serve, at the expense of whites who did. Legislation for veterans' benefits should benefit veterans, not races. In fact, the bill is not a genuine civil-rights bill at all, but a racial entitlement program. It would impose more bureaucratic pressures on private employers, who would be deemed guilty until proven innocent—unless they met what the Democrats insist are not quotas.

The likely effects were illustrated by a recent *60 Minutes* segment about a small factory in Chicago whose owner was slapped with a $148,000 fine when the EEOC determined that he should have employed 8.45 blacks (he employed only three). The man was patently innocent of any discrimination; but, pathetically, he accepted the essential legitimacy of the procedure that had victimized him, even though he had had no trial or anything else recognizable as due process of law in the traditional sense.

The Bush Administration has already shown a blithe lack of principle about both racial preferences and administrative law. As a *Washington Post* story commented, "The conservative ideological crusade [of the Reagan years] is over. The builders are gone

RIGHT DATA

The Enemy Within?

WITH the Gulf War over, another war—this one waged against America's oil companies—seems about to start. Emergency price-gouging legislation has been enacted in Connecticut and Massachusetts; forty other states have initiated special investigations or public hearings. The "Excess Oil Profits Tax Act of 1991," introduced by Senators Metzenbaum (D., Ohio), Lieberman (D., Conn.), and Cohen (R., Me.), would impose a 40 per cent tax on the "excess profits" of the larger oil companies.

The suspicion that oil companies can manipulate the price of oil was reinforced when gasoline prices began rising immediately after the August invasion, long before the higher-priced crude actually reached service-station tanks. By the end of October prices had risen 28 per cent; the net decline in world oil supplies was less than 2 per cent. The historical relationship between crude-oil supply and gasoline prices suggested that a rise of only 13 per cent, less than half the actual rise, was justified.

The perception of "gouging" was unavoidable—and wrong. The free-market price for oil properly reflects both the current supply and the probability of future supply disruptions. The market seems to have worked perfectly this time: once the air war started and it was clear that the Saudi oil fields were safe from Iraqi attack, prices fell sharply.

If oil companies do orchestrate prices, they are singularly inept at it. A recent study by the St. Louis–based Center for the Study of American Business shows that the real price of gasoline (in constant 1990 dollars) was $1.26 per gallon in 1960, or about 12 cents more than the level of this February. Over the long haul gasoline prices have not kept pace with market-basket inflation, yet no one accuses the food or newspaper or automobile industry of price "gouging."

Many believe that profits are a better indicator of market power than prices. The petroleum industry did, in fact, make money from the recent oil-price rise: the profits of the major oil companies rose a whopping 77 per cent in the fourth quarter of last year compared to the same period of 1989, according to the Department of Energy.

As with prices, however, there is less here than meets the eye. Net income for all of 1990 was up only 9 per cent from 1989's figure, which was depressed below that of 1988. Competition among refiners, marketers, and distributors prevented gasoline prices from rising as much as crude-oil prices, and as a result this end of the industry generated about 30 per cent less profit in the last quarter of 1990 than in the same period of 1989.

More importantly, when profits are measured against the investment made to earn those profits, oil companies are seen to be doing less well than other industries. In 1990, for example, the rate of return on stockholders' equity for the major oil companies (12.8 per cent) was less than the return for large non-oil manufacturing companies (13.9 per cent). In fact, the rate of return on oil-industry sales, assets, and equity has been below the average for U.S. industry in each of the past six years.

An excess-profits tax is seen by many as a better solution than energy price controls. Its economic effects would be equally disastrous, however. As currently envisioned the tax would be levied on the difference between the current year's net income and the company's average net income over the previous five years. Any rise in oil prices, even if below the rate of inflation, would produce "excess profits." Indeed, if the industry were merely to push its profit rate up to the average for U.S. industry, it would incur a massive excess-profits tax liability. At a time when oil-import dependence is a major concern, this tax would penalize those firms which invest heavily and successfully in domestic operations.

—Ed Rubenstein

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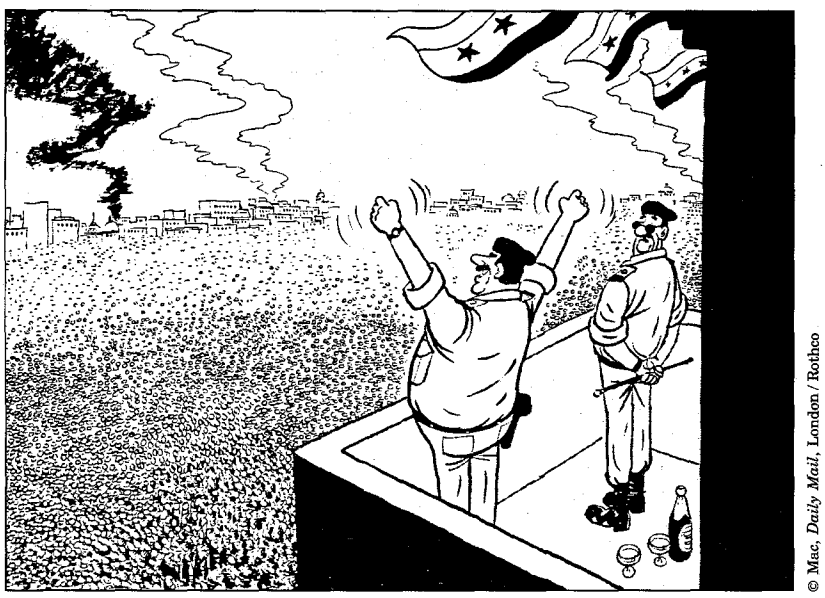

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"I think the reason they're not cheering your God-given victory, Illustrious One, is that most of them are widows and grieving mothers . . ."

and the maintenance crew is in charge." If principle doesn't move the President, political considerations should. Jesse Helms's come-from-behind victory last fall proved that race preference is the most potently unpopular idea afoot in American politics. The Democrats are unalterably committed to it. All George Bush has to do is come out swinging against it.

Hot Fission

YUGOSLAVIA took a step back from the brink toward whch it has been careening. The (Serbian-officered) army made it clear that, while it would not intervene so long as the politicians were still talking, it would not accept a breakup. At the same time, Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic, whose bumptious nationalism was speeding the other republics out the door, found himself under pressure at home as the Serbian economy, still lumbering along on Communist lines, collapses.

The crisis has only been postponed, not resolved. How can Yugoslavians live with each other? Or apart from each other?

The first thing Yugoslavia needs is a strong shot of free enterprise. Like the other Balkan countries, the Yugoslavian government lags behind the genuinely ex-Communist regimes to the north. The sagging economy particularly enrages Slovenia and Croatia, industrious republics which feel they have been footing the rest of the country's bills.

The second thing it needs, even more urgently, is real regional autonomy, along existing borders. (One of Milosevic's mischievous schemes was to pry off Serbian-inhabited bits of Croatia. That way lies not madness but civil war.) The Slovenes, the Croats, the Albanians of Kosovo simply have too little in common with the Serbs, and with one another, to expect them to continue without local power and local symbolism—including flags and currency, if necessary. The Serbs, the country's largest and dominant ethnic group, won't like it. But since the only alternative is bloody and brutal struggles for independence, they'll have to get used to it.

For years, American and Western policy toward Yugoslavia was to support the central government, through thick and thin: Belgrade had broken away from Stalin; it represented "reform Communism." Those reasons no longer apply, if they ever did. There are reform Communists in Moscow, and Stalinism survives only in isolated backwaters, like Cuba and Albania—and Milosevic's Serbia. Instead of mindlessly supporting the Yugoslavia *du jour*, the West should pass the word that it will only support a livable one.

Nihilism, Anyone?

SOMEONE has said that sex is the mysticism of materialism, but maybe sex isn't doing the trick any more. Perhaps violence is the mysticism of materialism.

In New Hampshire, a young schoolteacher named Pamela Smart has been sentenced to life in prison without parole for conspiring to murder her husband. She first seduced a 15-year-old student and then persuaded him to fire the lethal bullet. Why not just get a divorce? She was fearful of losing her condo, her pet dog, and a shared insurance policy.

In New York we have had the Jennifer Levin murder by Robert Chambers and the infamous Central Park jogger case. Chambers showed no remorse over killing Miss Levin during "rough sex," and the jogger's rapists laughed and joked in the police station. Last fall, a young man from Utah was knifed in a New York subway station while trying to protect his parents from robbers. As he died on the platform, the robbers went dancing at Roseland Ballroom.

There does appear to be a congruence between such nihilistic yahoo violence and the texture of popular culture. The violence of much popular "music" and the escalating violence, indeed perversity, of many movies do seem to suggest a severe coarsening of the popular moral sensibility.

Orwell noted something similar in a murder that took place in the coarsened atmosphere of wartime Britain—recently dramatized in the movie *Chicago Joe and the Showgirl*—in which a Bonnie-and-Clyde-

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type couple murdered a taxi-driver for $16. Orwell compared this frivolous murder with "the old domestic poisoning dramas, product of a stable society where the all-prevailing hypocrisy did at least ensure that crimes as serious as murder should have strong emotions behind them."

How do we account for such crimes and the debased moral climate they derive from? Walter Bagehot spoke in the last century of "the cake of custom." The cake of custom had been earned over centuries, and it put limits on what could be considered decent behavior. Bagehot thought that when the cake had been fractured, it might be all but impossible to put it back together. A version of this argument is stated in *Brothers Karamazov*: "For a person who does not believe in God, everything will be permitted."

The liberal sensibility of modern times has complacently relegated severe retribution to a more brutal past. But the hard truth of sociology may be that a kinder, gentler society must rest ultimately on a harsher state.

NOTES & ASIDES

■ Mr. Buckley:

You make me sick. You think of yourself as a positive influence on our country. You enchant us with your clever analysis of this country's ills. Now, at this Christmas season, when we're facing the debacle of a President gone wild, you become mute. I talk to seven-year-olds who are doing more about our unnecessary approach to war than you are. If you are so smart why aren't you pointing out that we must stop George Bush? This Gulf crisis can be managed without war. For God's sake, help this nation see that they have elected a moron to the Presidency. Do this before he kills hundreds of thousands here and in the Middle East.

A dumb grandmother,
Lynn Washington
Ochlocknee, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Washington: Well, we succeeded in stopping him well before the loss of hundreds of thousands of soldiers. Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I offer, for the amusement and amazement of you and your readers, the enclosed schedule of meetings in the parish house of a large local church—not mine! Readers who plow through to the end ought perhaps to consider attending the last meeting listed!

Sincerely yours,
Martha Lindberg Mann
Colorado Springs, Colo.

SUPPORT GROUPS MEET WEEKLY IN THE PARISH HOUSE AS FOLLOWS:

Sunday
12:00 noon—Cocaine Anonymous, Main Floor
5:30 P.M.—Survivors of Incest, Main Floor
6:00 P.M.—Al-Anon, 2nd Floor
6:00 P.M.—Alcoholics Anonymous, Basement
Monday
5:30 P.M.—Debtors' Anonymous, Basement
6:30 P.M.—Codependents of Sex Addicts Anonymous, 2nd Floor
7:00 P.M.—Adult Children of Alcoholics, 2nd Floor
8:00 P.M.—Alcoholics Anonymous, Basement
8:00 P.M.—Al-Anon, 2nd Floor
8:00 P.M.—Alateen, Basement
8:00 P.M.—Cocaine Anonymous, Main Floor
Tuesday
8:00 P.M.—Survivors of Incest Anonymous, 2nd Floor
Wednesday
5:30 P.M.—Sex & Love Addicts Anonymous, Basement
7:30 P.M.—Adult Children of Alcoholics, 2nd Floor
8:00 P.M.—Cocaine Anonymous, Main Floor
Thursday
7:00 P.M.—Codependents of Sex Addicts Anonymous, 2nd Floor
7:00 P.M.—Women's Cocaine Anonymous, 2nd Floor
Friday
5:30 P.M.—Sex & Love Addicts Anonymous, Basement
5:45 P.M.—Adult Overeaters Anonymous, Main Floor
7:30 P.M.—Codependents Anonymous, Basement
7:30 P.M.—Adult Children of Alcoholics, 2nd Floor
8:00 P.M.—Cocaine Anonymous, Main Floor
Saturday
10:00 A.M.—Adult Children of Alcoholics, Main Floor
12:00 noon—Self-abusers' Anonymous, 2nd Floor

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Mr. Gorbachev has put me at a loss for words. He has let Europe go, but he continues with the repression of the Soviet peoples. The linguistic temptation is to say, "The cold war continues, but it is less cold." Yet that leaves us closer to a "hot" conflict in contradistinction to which is the notion of a "cold war." So perhaps we should say, "The cold war has grown colder," but I think that misleading as well. I am at a loss.

Cordially,
Joseph S. Fulda
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Fulda: Not an easy one, no sir. How about, the cold war has, here and there, frozen? Cordially, **—WFB**

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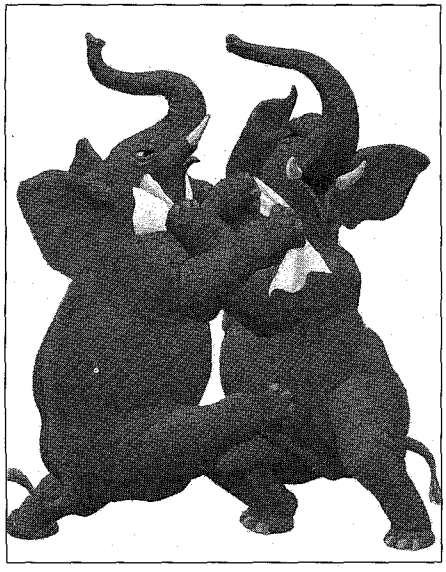
ON THE SCENE

The Silent Minority

WILLIAM McGURN



Chris Miles

PRINCETON, N.J.

IT'S THE afternoon before St. Patrick's Day at the fourth annual retreat for Republican congressmen, and the lunchroom is decorated with green-and-white balloons. The GOP organizers have hired a banjo player to sing Irish tunes, and, as we sit down to a meal of boiled chicken, the strains of a famous Irish lullaby begin to waft across the room. But instead of the words "Toora Loora Loora," the man is distinctly singing "Tora, Tora, Tora," conjuring up unhealthy images of Pearl Harbor.

There are some things Republicans had best leave to Democrats after all. I wonder if confabs like this aren't among them. The brochure for the three-day retreat calls it "Congress of Tomorrow: Princeton '91." But that's already a fib, because we're really not in Princeton but in neighboring Plainsboro, where Merrill Lynch runs a huge conference center. Fashioned out of poured concrete and one-way windows, the place looks like a minimum-security prison, and any moment I expect to see Michael Milken or Ivan Boesky refilling the coffee and cookie trays. I mention this to the creator of the New Paradigm, Jim Pinkerton. "You haven't tried to leave yet, have you?" he says, fueling my paranoia.

This year's event brought in many more congressmen than last year, including all the leadership and the ranking committee members. To be sure, with the war won the mood was upbeat. But the conference also highlighted the three chief problems that House Republicans face as they begin their 37th consecutive year as a minority. Ironically, all three obstacles are Republican too, and they are, in order of magnitude: Minority Leader Bob Michel, the National Republican Congressional Committee, and George Bush.

Take Mr. Michel. The Affable Member from Illinois was a superb after-dinner companion, belting out "God Bless America" and suchlike in his fine baritone. If I someday have a daughter, and that daughter gets married, I want Bob Michel at the reception so that everyone will have a good time. But I don't want him as minority leader. Part of the reason for re-electing him to that post again this year—and recall that House Republicans repudiated him on the most important issue of last year, taxes—was that this was ol' Bob's last hurrah. But Michel himself has announced no intention of retiring and looks bent on bringing a minority party into the twenty-first century. If there's still a GOP then and he's still sitting in Congress, no doubt he'll do it.

Then there's the National Republican Congressional Committee. Ed Rollins is out, having crossed the President on taxes, and another good conservative, Spence Abraham, who ran the Michigan state party for a few years, has taken his place. As we chat outside the auditorium, Abraham is somewhat cautious, noting that he won't actually start at the NRCC until Monday. We talk about the war, and he points out that the potential is there to reap some gains. "For the first time you have people knowing the names of real defense systems they have seen put into practice, and a real up-or-down vote on a life-or-death issue," he says. "That's not enough, but it's important."

The real question is whether *anyone* can do anything at the NRCC so long as Guy Vander Jagt and Wyatt Stewart remain at the helm. Although the NRCC has raised oodles of money, the number of GOP congressmen has steadily shrunk. Rollins never really had the control he needed, and his failure might be interpreted as proof that a bottom-led reform is impossible so long as the barnacles remain at the top.

Finally, there's President Bush. Minority Whip Newt Gingrich correctly points out that House Republicans have to look for opportunities to work with the President, but Bush could well, *à la* Eisenhower, build up his own popularity while enervating his party. Chief of Staff John Sununu is here, too, speaking with Gingrich, Vin Weber, and even Dick Armey, and he politely reminds reporters that the President does indeed have a domestic agenda (described by another top Republican as "a little capital gains, a few nods to deregulation, but no big-ticket items"). But conservative congressmen aren't buying the Sununu line. "There's going to be nothing this year unless the Democrats propose it," complains one.

The composition of the panels hinted at the GOP's identity crisis. There were some splendid speakers, George Gilder and Julian Simon to name but two, but there was a lot of stuff that belonged more on the Democratic side of the aisle. David Halberstam, for example, was there to tell Republicans that they need to quadruple the price of gasoline by adding taxes to pay off the deficit. And when Gilder advised the congressmen against government programs that encourage single-parent households, he was rewarded by a tart reaction from Congressman Fred Grandy

Mr. McGurn is NR*'s Washington bureau chief.*

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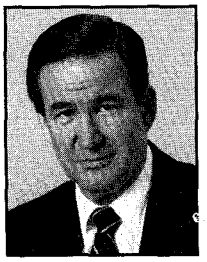

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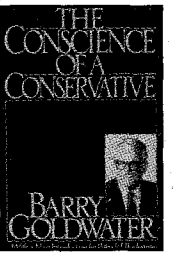

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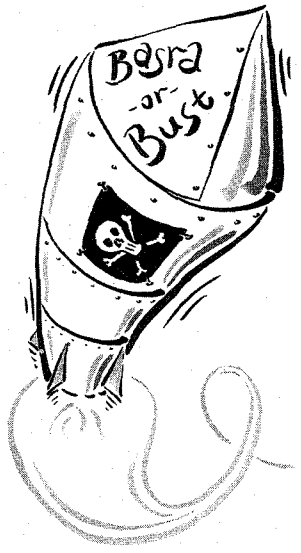
(Iowa), former star of TV's *Love Boat* series. "Torn right from the right-wing playbook," sniffed Congressman Grandy in Saturday's *Washington Post*, going on to lament "the Shi'ite cast" to the meeting. After the *Post* story started circulating one staffer told me the rumor was that Congressman Grandy had had a page fired after the latter had stepped into his elevator and requested the Lido Deck. Sounds like something worth getting fired for.

The contrasts with last year's event are telling. At that meeting, the focus was on local issues that might actually galvanize voters. True enough, the top brass of the party was still Bob Michel, Guy Vander Jagt, and Jerry Lewis. But there was a lean, mean team of Young Turks right below—Duncan Hunter at research, Bill McCollum at the House Republican Conference committee, Newt Gingrich as Whip, Mickey Edwards in policy, not to mention Bob Walker as a deputy whip and Vin Weber as conference secretary. Indeed, so freely was the wine flowing last year that Bob Michel was introduced to rousing applause as "the Republican Speaker of the House" come 1993.

There was no pretense of that sort this year. A number of congressmen I spoke with pointed out that this was a 501(c)3 gathering (which for the uninitiated means non-profit) and therefore supposedly not overtly political; in other words, there was a legal prohibition on talking about how to bash the Democrats. But I don't think Republicans, apart from Newt Gingrich, are inclined to talk about that anyway. Part of the problem was that C-SPAN was broadcasting the entire event, which meant speeches and grandstanding instead of real discussion. On the last morning, for example, in the debate over the final statement, Bob Michel rose to propose changing the reference to the "founding fathers of the twenty-first century" to the PC "founders." In the section on education, there was considerable opposition to calling for parents to "have some say in how and where their children are educated," and similar complaints about the word "choice" as used in terms of vouchers. This is the voice of the New Majority? □

Saddam's Idea of Peace

MARTIN AROSTEGUI



Robert L. Prince

OCCUPIED IRAQ

THE ROAD to Nazariya was open a week ago but now it is closed. "The Iraqis are taking out targets of opportunity north of here," says a U.S. Army lieutenant at the last American checkpoint. "We are under orders not to let any traffic through. . . . You see those tracer rounds"—he points to the reddish flares in the horizon—"that's from anti-aircraft guns." The anti-Saddam resistance in Iraq presumably has no aircraft, so the AA fire is coming from the rebels against helicopters and possibly other war planes that Saddam Hussein is sending against them.

Nazariya has been under rebel control for several weeks, as are the southern cities of Tnuma and Zuber. But the rebel forces are coming under increasing pressure. "Having lost to us, the Republican Guards are turning their anger on their own people," observes one American soldier. "They want to win a big one in southern Iraq. They're napalming villages, poisoning the water—it's worse than hell out there." With the U.S. Army controlling part of the area and Iran in a position to gain influence over local Shi'a rebels, Saddam's regime either fights or perishes here. And the latest indications are that the tide of battle is starting to swing in Saddam's favor as America, its allies, and other regional powers stand by, ignoring violations of ceasefire provisions that prohibit Iraq from redeploying its air force. (As of this writing we have shot down two of his planes, but given the number still flying that seems little more than a token.)

Two Iraqi-army deserters picked up by a U.S. patrol sit shivering by the roadside with American flags sticking out of their soiled uniforms. They were part of a unit that mutinied in Basra, killing its commanding officer. They describe how one week ago resistance forces attacked the Basra headquarters of Ali Hassan Majid, Saddam Hussein's governor of the province, whose last posting was in Kuwait when it was Iraq's "19th province." Hassan Majid escaped with only five of his men as the insurgents overran the installation; he returned some hours later with tanks and helicopters to flatten the homes of suspected resistance families. The dead in Basra are now estimated to be reaching ten thousand. Bodies lying on the streets are eaten by stray dogs. Some exhibit signs of nerve-gas poisoning.

Both the deserters are planning to join the Iran-based Thaura Islamic party led by the Ayatollah Hakim. But other parties are competing with Thaura for the rebels' loyalty. Hezb al-Dawah, which controls the town of Tnuma, has high-level connections in Iran. During the Iran–Iraq war Hezb al-Dawah carried out terrorist attacks in Iraq and throughout the Gulf region on Iran's orders, including several car bombings against American targets in Kuwait.

But Iran now gives little material assistance to the rebels in southern Iraq. "They give us homes in Iran and food," say a group of rebels fleeing Basra, "but no arms." The resistance is armed with weapons and munitions taken from the Iraqi army. Many of the rebels were in Saddam's army and people's militia before turning on him. "If we get help from outside we win," the rebels say. "If we do not, we lose."

The signs are that Saddam is regrouping his army. He has issued an amnesty for all deserters and keeps extending the deadline so that soldiers with nowhere else to go are given

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plenty of chances to reconsider. One American checkpoint reports that some thirty to forty Iraqis have crossed back over in the past week to rejoin their units. They have even been making efforts to retrieve equipment that was left behind in the American sector.

As a sign of his increasing confidence, Saddam went on Baghdad radio last week for the first time since his rout from Kuwait. He compared himself to Egypt's President Nasser (who survived in power following his defeat in the 1967 war with Israel), called for national unity, and promised "democratic reform." Seeming to echo geopolitical views gaining currency in Moscow and Washington, Saddam said that "a strong Iraq is vital to the peace and stability of the region."

At one of the forwardmost U.S. positions in southern Iraq, where the desert begins turning into mosquito-infested marshlands, an American soldier lies in his darkened tent saying, "Every Iraqi we talk to asks why we don't just do him [Saddam] in." Captain Walleed, a Kuwaiti interpreter with U.S. army intelligence, concurs. They want "to know why we don't just march in." The night is punctuated by the sounds of distant explosions, automatic-rifle fire, the whoosh of rockets, and the noise of what may be high-speed helicopters or jet aircraft.

But a battalion commander on the Basra road, Lieutenant Colonel Ritter, explains his orders: "We intercept all traffic and confiscate any arms we find coming south or going north." His checkpoint is open to refugees from Basra and other Iraqi cities, and the U.S. Army is helping by its mere presence. If it withdrew from the road it now controls between Nazariya and Basra, the Republican Guard would be able to cut off the rebels and crush the rebellion in southern Iraq.

The bespectacled colonel talks with exhilaration about how his armored unit sliced into the "fourth largest army in the world" like a knife through butter, losing a total of one armored vehicle, one man dead, and a half-dozen wounded. He considers the present job to be a lot tougher. Expressing fears of possible Iraqi terrorist attacks on his unit or behind American lines, Ritter cites an incident last week in which a group of Republican Guards disguised as civilians tried to infiltrate the U.S.-held area with a large quantity of plastic explosives, detonators, electrical wiring, and all the necessary bomb-making equipment.

The U.S. military is highly concerned about a possible "spillover" of Iraq's civil war, which could even spread into Kuwait. Iraqi soldiers continue to hide out in the capital, along with PLO terrorists who were infiltrated in by Iraq during the seven-month occupation. These elements are believed to be responsible for ongoing armed attacks in Kuwait City, where gunfire is audible during much of the day and night. A spreading conflict could become a two-way affair, with the Kuwaiti resistance taking up arms again.

Not far from where Ritter was speaking stands a tent with an American flagpole in front of it. It is where U.S. and Iraqi ceasefire negotiators regularly meet to iron out problems. U.S. officers contacted there, unlike many others in southern Iraq, refused to comment on any Iraqi ceasefire violations. Refugees from Basra cited six or seven helicopter attacks a day on rebel positions in that city.

If the U.S. squanders the opportunity to deal Saddam Hussein a death blow and end the civil war in Iraq on American terms, the American presence in the region may soon become engulfed in the resulting chaos. Those in Washington arguing against a U.S. move to take out what remains of Iraq's air force point out that it would upset Saddam's Soviet protectors and current State Department efforts toward an Israeli–Palestinian settlement. But the idea that peace and stability in the region are being furthered by allowing Saddam to retake the initiative in Iraq is a delusion. □

Any Takers?

DONALD KIRK

ISTANBUL

WITH THE fighting still simmering on perilously close to Turkey's southeastern frontier, Turkish business leaders and politicians remain far from certain about the wisdom of President Turgut Ozal's decision to gamble on the coalition. Since he shut off Iraq's dual oil pipeline over Turkish soil right after Saddam Hussein sent his forces into Kuwait on August 2, Turkey has lost at least six billion dollars in trade; it stands to lose several billion more if the civil strife in Iraq does not end soon. The absence of the tourists who once crowded the palaces, mosques, bazaars, and Roman ruins of a metropolis that has flourished on Byzantine intrigue for more than two thousand years is only the most visible aspect of the nation's dilemma.

As far as Ozal is concerned, however, the gamble may just now be paying off. He expects the members of the Western alliance to reward him handsomely for his unequivocal support. While Turkey did not order a single soldier into actual combat, Ozal can still say that his antiquated army managed to pin down at least a hundred thousand Iraqi troops on Iraq's northern frontier while U.S. warplanes flew night and day on bombing missions from the Turkish base at Incirlik. Ozal may also note—although he will not say so publicly—that he offered these services at grave political risk. Only 20 per cent of the people were behind him, according to one poll, and throughout the allied offensive Dev Sol (Revolutionary Left) guerrillas were planting bombs in the nation's largest cities.

Bonnie T. Gardner

Meanwhile, with a furious energy

Mr. Kirk is a veteran foreign correspondent.

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that keeps him awake at nights shuffling through papers and dictating memoranda, Ozal is working on a blueprint for Turkey's future that he believes will fulfill two historical dreams. One is to turn Turkey into a full-fledged European partner. The other is to guarantee Turkey's role as the most powerful nation in the Middle East. There is a suggestion in this strategy of a desire to recapture lost grandeur—to revive the spirit of the Ottoman empire when the power of Istanbul extended from Eastern Europe through most of the Arab world—but Ozal betrays no such illusions.

Far from behaving in the grand style of the sultans of old, Ozal, at 63, projects the image of a university professor as he hunches over a small desk and talks about a renaissance built on economic rather than military power. Educated as an electrical engineer, Ozal spent most of his career in engineering and planning positions before going to Washington for two years in the early 1970s as an advisor to the World Bank. Indeed, he did not really enter politics in full force until nearly a decade later when, as deputy prime minister for economic affairs, he in effect asked himself, "Why not me?"

President since 1989, Ozal speaks with the authority of a leader who some say is getting downright autocratic. "A Middle East development bank could be established in Istanbul or Ankara," he noted, with almost a hint of glee visible behind his mustache and thick glasses. "If we are going to establish water and gas pipelines, it could be related to that." That way, not militarily, Ozal proudly observed in his less-than-perfect English, "we can play a much more stabilizing effect."

Ozal bases his economic emphasis on a simple reality: "Any security, if not supported by a very important cooperation program, will not live." It is an argument that effectively strikes the chord of self-interest among Turkey's allies. A grateful Saudi Arabia has come through with more than a billion dollars in grants and loans. Japan, always vigilant about its trade relations, has committed more than $400 million, while the United States appears likely to tack an extra $200 million to the $553 million already authorized.

What Ozal yearns for, though, is entry into the European Community—and he writhes in quiet rage over the near-certainty that Turkey's historical enemy, Greece, will veto the bid. With Turkey in the EC "you will build a bridge between the West and the Islamic countries," he argues, but "if the EC don't accept us, we will look to other solutions." In fact, he is turning, characteristically, to the north as well: "We are working on Black Sea economic cooperation with the Soviet republics and Bulgaria and Rumania."

But Ozal still has a war to deal with within his own borders. Iraqi soldiers have been deserting across the frontier, while Kurdish rebels in Iraq fight for their own independence. How long would it take for an independent Kurdistan in Iraq's northern provinces to become a base for Kurdish revolt in southeastern Turkey? More than two thousand people have already been killed in guerrilla warfare waged by the PKK—Kurdish Communist Party—in Turkey since 1984. Ozal is adamant against demands for any form of Kurdish autonomy. "Under Ottoman rule, we lived together for four hundred years," he says. "A majority of the Kurdish population are quite well integrated ethnically."

One is not likely to find many Kurds echoing this sentiment. "We want to have equal rights with the Turks, to have our schools, our newspapers," said a construction worker named Emin Celik, whom I encountered in the village of Pirinclik, home of a giant U.S. military eavesdropping facility. Celik was unimpressed by a cabinet decision to give the Kurds the right to talk in their own language. "We always talked Kurdish anyway," he said through my interpreter. "How could anyone stop us? There are too many of us."

Under the circumstances, Ozal might conceivably prefer a stable Iraq under the rule of Saddam to a country fragmenting in revolt. For the record, however, he wants to see a democratic order in Iraq—which appears extremely unlikely as long as Saddam remains on the scene.

One point Ozal does not raise unless pressed is that Turkey ruled the northern provinces of Iraq—including Mosul and Kirkuk—for several years beyond the breakup of the Ottoman empire. The sense lingers that Turkey would like to recover the region, even though no one in power will say so. That is one more reason for Turkish army divisions to stay right where they are, on or near the frontier. It also adds urgency to Turkey's demands for a quick infusion of aid to build up its military establishment.

"We are members of NATO since 1952," said Ozal, almost plaintively, but it was only a few years ago that "we started to have a modernization effort." Why not sooner? "I think the support you have given is limited by the Greek lobby." Turkey views the U.S. promise to leave behind a single Patriot missile battery as small reward for its loyalty. There was no mistaking the pride in Ozal's tone, though, as he evoked dormant memories. "The Turks are good fighters," he reminded me. "We can defend ourselves." Of course, he added—a trifle *pro forma*, it seemed—"we have no aim on Iraq soil." □

A Woman for Four Seasons

OWEN HARRIES

WASHINGTON, D.C.

WHEN politicians take to the podium to pronounce on international affairs, they have a choice between two approaches: the survey speech and the theme speech. Diplomats, bureaucrats, and others of a careful disposition are happiest when their politicians choose the former, because it is safer.

Politicians who have firm opinions normally prefer the latter—theme speeches with a simple central argument. These are the statements that can be recalled years later, often by a single word or phrase—as, say, Churchill's 1940 speeches may be evoked with the words "defiance" and "resolution."

It is surprising, therefore, that when the marvelously opinionated Margaret Thatcher delivered her first major post-prime-ministerial speech in

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Washington on March 8, she chose to give her audience of four hundred conservatives a survey rather than a theme speech. Admittedly, it was an unusually pungent survey, strikingly free from voguishness and cant—not a single "interdependence" in the text, and only one "new world order," and that only to make a joke. But the speech had no overarching theme.

Still, there are a couple of things to be said about its overall character. First, it was Atlantic- and Euro-centered to a remarkable degree, with only three passing references to Japan, and with China, India, South Asia, South America, and Africa not mentioned at all.

True, most of those present at the Four Seasons Hotel may not have noticed these omissions. For, with some notable exceptions, American conservatives share the priorities represented by the speech: the United States, Europe, and the Middle East are important; the rest is not. It is a world view that helps explain why conservatives are regularly surprised by certain categories of events, and why over the years our soldiers have ended up fighting in places like Korea, Vietnam, and the Falkland Islands.

Which brings me to the other general point: The speech contained no recognition of some of the dilemmas posed for conservatives by the end of the cold war—e.g., what balance should be struck between stability and liberty as the Communist world disintegrates? It would have been interesting and useful to hear Mrs. Thatcher on such issues, at a time when they threaten conservative unity.

Still, what she did say was interesting enough. The first third of the speech was taken up—very properly—with celebrating and claiming credit for victory in the cold war. This is worth doing, not only because the cold war has been *the* central international event in the adult life of anyone under 65, but also because there are different versions of how it ended, and which one prevails is going to have great significance. Smart liberals—Michael Kinsley comes to mind—recognized this early and moved quickly to try to distribute credit equally between conservatives and liberals. Others have insisted that the thaw was all due to changes inside the Soviet leadership, and that Western policy was more or less irrelevant. Mrs. Thatcher effectively combatted such liberal claims with her stress on the importance of the "new directions" taken by the U.S. and Britain and, in particular, on the role of Ronald Reagan as "the pilot that weathered the storm."

The speech went on to discuss the Soviet Union, and this section was less satisfactory. She admonished the reformers in the Soviet Union to overcome their divisions and not to falter, but on the substance of the dispute among them and the question of on whose terms unity should be restored—which is rather vital—she had no explicit advice. Implicitly, though, she clearly sides with Gorbachev. She believes that he "remains a reformer at heart" who has "begun the withdrawal of Soviet troops; accepted arms

Tim Bower

reduction for the first time; and cut support for Communist insurgencies across the world." Fair enough, if what you are about is making the best case for a friend. But it is not Gorbachev's heart but his mind and his level of competence that are at issue.

Apart from a perfunctory concluding section on the Middle East, the rest of the speech was about Europe and NATO. It was here that Margaret Thatcher came fully into her own, delivering a series of unrepentant hammer blows for the cause that was largely responsible for her downfall. In fact, here we find embedded within the sprawling survey the guts of a genuine theme speech. And the unambiguous theme was this: Stay with the tried and the tested—national sovereignty, NATO, American leadership, free trade—and be not tempted by the dangerous utopian notion of a European superstate.

Not only does Mrs. Thatcher spurn the idea that NATO's role is over with the end of the cold war, but she argues for its enlargement. Those Eastern European countries which have left the Warsaw Pact should be given associate membership in NATO, she said, and the Organization should assume out-of-area responsibilities. As for the European Community, its true political mission is not to press for unity but "to anchor new and vulnerable democracies more securely to freedom and to the West," and to that end it should offer full membership to any country of Eastern or Central Europe that opts for democracy and the free market. In the realm of foreign, defense, and economic policies, Mrs. Thatcher believes that the call for a united, single European policy is a call for exclusiveness, self-absorption, and protectionism, at the expense of cooperation with the United States and openness to the world.

THE MOST effective and commented-on rhetoric in the speech was contained in two paragraphs which contrasted America as a *created* nation, built upon an idea and brought into being swiftly, with the nations of Europe, which are the slowly evolved product of history rather than of philosophy. Mrs. Thatcher further maintained that "You can construct a nation on an idea; but you cannot reconstruct a nation on the basis of one." Some commentators (e.g., David Broder in the *Washington Post*) have reacted to these paragraphs as if they were part of an examination question that demanded dissection and refutation. But rather than quibble and qualify in this way (*of course*, the United States has not been immune from history, and *of course* ideas can modify the history of European states) it is surely better to appreciate and ponder the latent truth in this bit of political poetry.

Indeed, considering the text of a speech by Margaret Thatcher can never do justice to the delivered speech as an occasion and an experience. Her presence, the voice, the palpable force of her will, the poignancy of her recent fall, the unrestrained adoration of an audience of normally rather staid people—all this made the occasion one that transcended the text. I guess that in this case you really *had* to be on the scene. □

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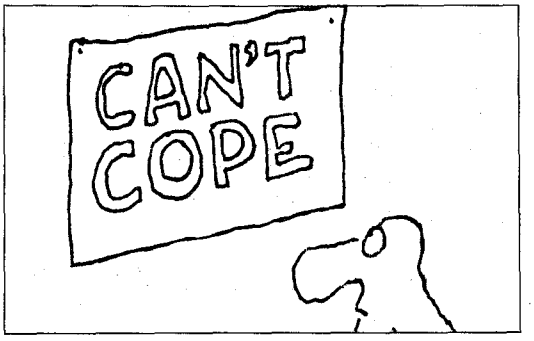
IS AMERICA SMART ENOUGH?



Arguments about group differences in IQ have roiled the academy for years. Oddly enough, nobody pays attention to certain *national* IQ differences, which could help us answer the question: How does Japan do it?

DANIEL SELIGMAN

INTELLIGENCE testing has a bad, bad reputation these days. At least, it does among the educated classes. Having spent the past three years working on a book about IQ testing, and having chatted extensively with assorted friends and publishers about the project, I vouchsafe that American college graduates overwhelmingly believe all of the following: IQ tests are culturally biased. Test-score differentials reflect mainly the advantages of the affluent. The tests discriminate in particular against minority-group members. They unfairly stigmatize low-scoring children. And in any case IQ tests do not measure anything it might be reasonable to label "intelligence."

This highly disparaging view of IQ tests tends to be asserted confidently and sustained with considerable passion. It causes book publishers to run for the hills when confronted with a "pro-IQ" manuscript (as I have sorrowfully discovered). And it continues to prevail in public discussion even though most experts—the psychologists and other scholars most closely involved with IQ test data—hold every one of the propositions above to be false.*

IQ test data have enormous explanatory power. Far more than most socioeconomic variables, the data explain why some people get ahead and others do not. Indeed, their explanatory power is the main reason for their broad unpopularity. Egalitarian America wants its children told, "You can be anything you want to be." The message from the testers is that this is pious baloney. This message is especially unwelcome because it disproportionately affects blacks and Hispanics, whose IQs on average are significantly lower than those of whites.

The IQ controversy nowadays is heavily centered on the meaning of these group differences. This article represents an effort to move the controversy into some less familiar territory—to extend the discussion to *national* IQ differences, and thereby explain (well, partly) why some countries get ahead and others do not.

Japan's Secret

IT IS NOT entirely clear why so little attention has been paid to national differences in intelligence. For something like 15 years now, there have been good data on the IQs of foreign populations, especially of the Japanese and other East Asians. The data plainly point to above-average IQs—i.e., above the American average—in the Pacific Rim.

IQ comparisons between East Asians and other populations present one maddening difficulty: comparing verbal skills across cultures whose languages are so different. The researchers have handled this difficulty in a variety of ways. In some cases, their data are based on Chinese and Japanese versions of standard Western tests, especially the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale (WAIS) and the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (WISC). Another solution has been to compare the two populations on tests like the Raven Progressive

*Until fairly recently, it would have been impossible to state confidently what "most experts" believe. It became possible only after a survey that questioned 661 representative scholars about a broad range of IQ-related issues. The survey was conducted in the mid 1980s and is described in *The IQ Controversy: The Media and Public Policy*, by Mark Snyderman and Stanley Rothman (Transaction, 1988).

Mr. Seligman, a veteran Fortune *editor, now writes the magazine's "Keeping Up" column.*

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Matrices, a nonverbal IQ test that measures abstract reasoning ability.

In any case, the test results show not only a higher average in East Asia but a different *structure* of intelligence there: at any given IQ level, East Asians and Americans will display different patterns of strength and weakness. It appears that these differences cannot be explained entirely by social and cultural factors. It also appears that some of the particular strengths of the East Asians account for much of their pre-eminence in mathematics and science. So it seems reasonable to assume that the IQ data can help us answer one question that has long bedeviled American business and policymakers: How do the Japanese do it?

All five of the Pacific Rim countries—Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore—have had outsize economic growth rates for three decades now. None of them has had a severe recession in that period, and all can point to staggering increases in living standards. Most American commentary on these countries has centered on their contributions to U.S. trade deficits. In this context, American executives increasingly bemoan the apparent superiority of the Japanese and other East Asian labor forces. Blaming the schools is very much the fashion in business these days. Why do Japanese children notoriously outperform their American counterparts by many different measures? The standard explanation is the one advanced in *Winning the Brain Race*, by David T. Kearns (chairman of Xerox) and Dennis P. Doyle (of the Hudson Institute), a book endorsed by then Secretary of Education Lauro F. Cavazos early in 1989. The explanation goes this way: "Japanese students do so well on international comparisons because they go to school for a longer day than Americans and a longer year . . . A majority of American youngsters attend school 180 days a year, while the Japanese go for 240. The typical American student has an hour or less of homework; the Japanese student two and one-half hours or more."

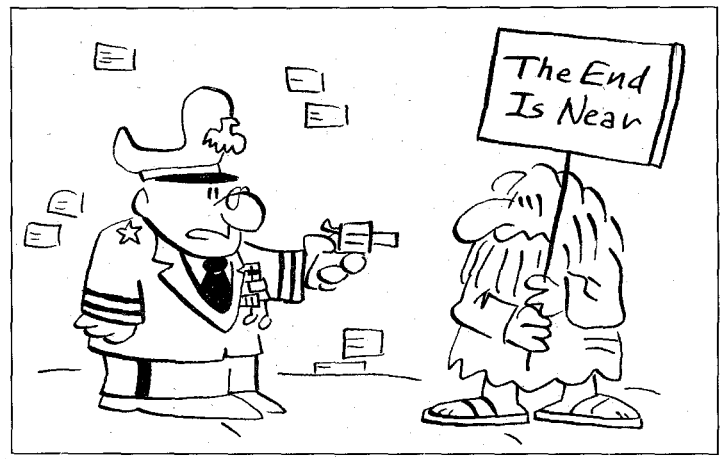
There is little doubt that the Japanese educational system is extraordinarily effective, but it clearly does not explain most of the East–West performance gap. For one thing, other East Asian countries have school systems far less rigorous than the daunting Japanese model (and the Hong Kong schools are still British-run). Yet the record all across the Pacific Rim is one of superior academic achievement. In the recently completed international assessment of mathematics and science, 13-year-olds from nine different populations were studied by the U.S.-based Educational Testing Service. In math, the Koreans—the only East Asian group in the study—came in first (and the Americans last). In science, the Koreans came in second, a shade behind children from British Columbia. (The Americans were ninth.)

In any case, the superior talents of Japanese children cannot be entirely the product of Japanese schools, since some of the superiority is already observable in kindergarten. The February 1986 issue of *Science* carried a detailed report on an ambitious study led by Professor Harold W. Stevenson of the University of Michigan. A basic finding: American kindergarteners are about equal to the Taiwanese in mathematical understanding but both are far behind the Japanese. By the fifth grade, the Taiwanese have pretty much caught up with the Japanese and the Americans trail far behind.

East Is East and West Is West

THE FIRST reports of high East Asian IQs began appearing in the West in the late Seventies. Most of these reports were written by Richard Lynn, a British psychometrician based at the University of Ulster in Coleraine. Lynn, then 47, says he happened to read in 1976 that versions of the WAIS and WISC tests were becoming available in Japan. He wrote off for the Japanese test manuals, had them translated into English, and then began collecting and analyzing test results; before long he had a unique network of Far Eastern psychologists reporting regularly to Coleraine. More recently, he has begun acquiring test data from Mainland China.

These Chinese data are quite astonishing. Based on



"I hate to do this, but you know too much."

examinations using the Raven Progressive Matrices, the data show Mainland children with IQs averaging 101 on a scale where Americans are at 100. A one-point group differential would not ordinarily be worth mentioning. But IQs are powerfully correlated with several different indicators of material well-being. Scholars generally believe that something like 30 to 50 per cent of variability in IQ is attributable to environmental factors. And in this case, the one-point advantage is exhibited by a group living in abysmal poverty. The plain implication of those Raven scores is that Chinese IQs are potentially a fair amount higher than American IQs—also that a China liberated from Communism has a dazzling economic future.

One of Lynn's earliest reports dealt with a 1977 study in Singapore comparing the IQs of 13-year-olds in the Chinese and Malay populations. This study, also based on the Raven Progressive Matrices, showed the Chinese averaging 110, the Malays 96, on a scale where British children averaged 100. Lynn has also written in

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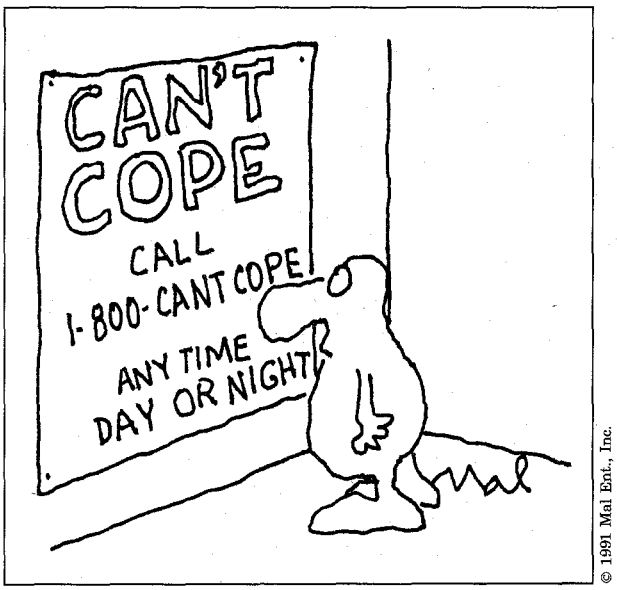
some detail about two 1982 studies of Chinese children in Hong Kong. One, based on Cattell's Culture Fair Test (it too emphasizes reasoning ability), showed a representative group of Chinese nine-year-olds averaging 106.7 in relation to a norm of 100 for American children. The other Hong Kong study looked at Chinese children of different ages and used the Raven plus a couple of other tests, including one vocabulary test. (A measure of verbal fluency and recall, it asked the children to write down the names of as many animals as they could think of in two minutes.) Lynn found that these data gave an average of 109 for the Chinese, against a mean of 100 for British children.

Lynn's most recent studies, which are heavily centered on Japanese test data, put a somewhat different spin on the basic message. In a 1987 paper, *The Intelligence of the Mongoloids: A Psychometric, Evolutionary, and Neurological Theory*, Lynn still says that these Pacific Rim populations have higher overall IQs than Westerners. But he now insists on a technical adjustment of the data that results in a gap of only three or four points.



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Are We Getting Smarter?

THE ADJUSTMENT is worth a brief detour here, since it concerns a large issue to be addressed below—the issue of whether intelligence in developed countries has generally been rising over time. There is considerable division among scholars over this question, but Lynn is among those who believe that intelligence has been rising. Why would any such increase require an adjustment in the East–West IQ comparisons? Because the Asian tests were developed, standardized, and administered later than the tests on Americans and Europeans. If both groups were in fact getting steadily smarter, and if the East Asian test scores came later, then clearly some part of their reported advantage would be artificial.

Lynn's current thinking, in any case, puts far more weight on the differing structures of intelligence than on the IQ gap itself. In the 1987 paper, he writes: "The intelligence of the Mongoloids differs from that of Caucasoids more in the pattern or profile of their abilities than in the overall IQ." The model of intelligence used by Lynn in writing about structure is a familiar one to psychometricians. It features a three-layered hierarchy of abilities.

1. Sitting atop the hierarchy is "general intelligence," known as *g*. The basic thought behind *g* is that there is some general factor, affecting (though in different degrees) all kinds of mental abilities, from rote memory (weakly correlated with *g*) to abstract reasoning (practically synonymous with *g*). The alternative view is that intelligence is best conceived of as a cluster of discrete and essentially unrelated abilities.

The existence of *g* was once controversial, but today a substantial majority of scholars are committed to the idea of a general ability. Arthur Jensen of the University of California at Berkeley has argued—one might almost say crusaded—for *g*, and seems to have broadly prevailed. The basic reason for believing in some general factor in intelligence is that all those particular abilities correlate positively with one another, i.e., people who do above (or below) average in tests of any one ability are predicted also to do above (or below) average in any other. Using a mathematical technique called factor analysis, psychometricians can measure the extent to which various mental tasks are "*g*-loaded." Which is very close to saying the extent to which they rely on abstract reasoning.

2. The second layer of the hierarchy consists of two broad group factors, roughly characterized as verbal and visuospatial. A broad range of mathematical, scientific, mechanical, and engineering skills is powerfully influenced by the visuospatial abilities (e.g., the ability to imagine what an object would look like after being rotated in space).

3. In the third layer is a long list—it gets longer every year—of primary abilities. Some of these are thought of as particular forms of the broad verbal and visuospatial talents, but some others, like a memory for musical rhythms, are viewed as separate.

Back to the East–West differences, beginning at the top of the hierarchy. Lynn's first finding is that Japanese children are distinctly superior in *g*. At least, they are superior beginning around age six. At earlier ages, they fall short in *g*, apparently because they mature more slowly than Caucasian children. But after catching up, they pull steadily ahead; and on a scale where average American white children score 100, the Japanese score around 104 in the years between ten and sixteen.

In the second layer of the hierarchy, the picture is mixed. In the verbal factor, Japanese children are no standouts. They again start out behind their American counterparts in the very early years, but this time they do not catch up until around age nine or ten; furthermore, they do not then proceed to pull ahead of American children, but instead continue to score around 100 on average. Lynn believes that they are actually less talented verbally than American children. Many of the verbal skills can be raised by intensive study, so the

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apparent parity after age nine probably reflects the superiority of the Japanese educational system.

In the visuospatial factor Japanese superiority is discernible as early as age four and a half. With white Americans again normed at 100, the Japanese score around 105 in the years between ten and sixteen.

In the third layer, the specific skills break down about as you might expect. The Japanese are relatively weak on most verbal tests, but they are generally outstanding on tests measuring drawing ability, speed of perception, and thinking about objects being moved around in space. (In case you are wondering, they do about as well as Americans on musical rhythm.) Lynn finds that "These characteristics are also present among Mongoloids in the United States and, so far as the evidence goes, in the three Far East nations of Hong Kong, Singapore, and Taiwan."

The general rule, then, is that the East Asians excel at visuospatial tasks but are much weaker in the verbal sphere. Footnote to the rule: Lynn's Mongoloid–Caucasoid differences are somewhat analogous to (although greater than) male–female differences in Western societies—where men on average do far better than women in math and science, while women generally do better in verbal skills. Further footnote: American men seem about as good at the visuospatial tasks as East Asian women.

At Their Mother's Knee?

WHERE DID these East–West differences come from? Since so many of the ability differences are discernible in very young children, it is just about impossible to serve up a purely environmental answer to that question. Lynn himself believes in a mostly genetic answer, and has proposed an imaginative evolutionary explanation.

Severely compressed, his explanation goes about like this: Some sixty thousand years ago, when the Ice Age descended on the Northern Hemisphere, the Mongoloid populations faced uniquely hostile "selection pressure" for greater intelligence. Northeast Asia during the Ice Age was the coldest part of the world inhabited by man. Survival required major advances in hunting skills. Lynn's 1987 paper refers to "the ability to isolate slight variations in visual stimulation from a relatively featureless landscape, such as the movement of a white Arctic hare against a background of snow and ice; to recall visual landmarks on long hunting expeditions away from home and to develop a good spatial map of an extensive terrain." These, Lynn believes, were the pressures that ultimately produced the world's best visuospatial abilities.

What about the relative weakness of Mongoloid verbal skills? In approaching this question, Lynn notes the familiar male–female ability differences. Like most scholars, he believes that these arose from evolutionary pressures in which men needed visuospatial skills for hunting, and women needed verbal skills for child-rearing. The Mongoloids, Lynn believes, took this process a step further. Verbal skills are, of course, centered in the brain's left hemisphere. Lynn hypothesizes that among Mongoloids, the cortex in the left hemisphere was invaded and made to take on more visuospatial processing. There is some evidence to support this view of a different neurological structure for East Asians, although the case is admittedly not closed.

The verbal–visuospatial difference is not the only one that distinguishes Caucasoid and Mongoloid IQ patterns. The two populations also differ in the variability of their scores. A representative sample of Americans or Europeans will show more variability than will an East Asian sample. In the familiar bell-shaped distribution curve, the bell is much narrower for the Japanese—which is what you would expect from such a homogeneous population.

This difference is a major matter, and it is worth focusing hard on the data. Just about all Western populations report a standard deviation of 15 IQ points. (The SD, a basic measure of variability, quantifies the extent to which a series of figures deviates from its mean.) But the SD for the Japanese and other East Asian populations appears to be a shade under 13 IQ points. That difference does not sound like a big deal, and, in fact, it does not change things much in the center of the distribution. But the smaller standard deviation, combined with the higher average IQ, has one important implication for the quality of the Japanese labor force. It means that Japan has relatively few low-IQ workers. In the U.S., about 25 per cent of all workers have IQs below 90 (*v.* only about 15 per cent in Japan). For IQs below 80, the comparable figures would be around 10 per cent for the U.S., around 3 per cent for Japan. There are good reasons to believe that these differences are related to Japan's advantages on the factory floor.

It is curious that economists have been so slow to pick up on the link between IQ and economic performance. Indeed, it is especially curious given economists' increased interest in "human capital." In measuring the value of such capital, the economics profession never seems to get beyond education and training. In a brilliant essay published in 1983 (in a volume called *Intelligence and National Achievement*), Barbara Lerner chided them for being blind to the much superior measures provided by IQ and other test scores. Dr. Lerner, a psychologist and lawyer, was herself one of the first to write about the connection between IQ and national economies.

Predicting Success

THIS CONNECTION can be approached from several directions, but let us begin with this hard fact: People with high IQs tend to do well in life. There is, or should be, no real controversy about these statements: On average, the rich are more intelligent than the middle class. And the middle class are more intelligent than the poor.

To be sure, you will always pick up a certain amount of static about what's causing what. Do people become

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well-to-do because they are smart? Or are they smart because they started off with the kinds of advantages that well-to-do people pass along to their children? The answer is that a) the causation flows in both directions but b) the former effect seems much more powerful. The main reason smart people are well off is that modern market economies tend to reward people roughly in proportion to their productive skills, and these skills are closely linked to IQ.

> Do people become well-to-do because they are smart? Or are they smart because they started out with the advantages of the well-to-do?

If you pick a boy at random out of the teenage population, your best predictor of his adult "success" is not his family background (as measured, say, by his father's occupational status) but his present level of intelligence (as measured by his IQ). Correlation between a boy's teenage IQ and his adult occupational status: a potent 0.65. Between his father's occupational status and his own at middle age: a modest 0.35 or 0.40. (Corresponding figures for girls are, alas, hard to come by.)

The dollar value of IQ differences has been pointed up in a sizable number of studies. A Census Bureau study of veterans tested in 1964, when the men were in their early thirties, showed that a 15-point IQ difference had translated into an 11 per cent earnings difference. One famous study examined the careers of brothers who grew up together in Kalamazoo, Michigan, and had similar educational levels. (Kalamazoo, which has kept records of public-school IQs since 1928, has been a treasure trove for generations of sociologists.) Brother studies are illuminating because the boys have common family backgrounds but dissimilar IQs; on average, brothers' IQs differ by 11 or 12 points. The Kalamazoo data show that a 15-point IQ difference in the sixth grade was associated with a 14 per cent difference in annual earnings during the period between ages 35 and 59.

In talking with acquaintances about IQs and careers, I note that many people instantly gravitate toward a distinction. They accept that many prestigious and high-paying occupations—judge, research scientist, senior executive—must obviously be filled by people of superior mental ability; but they do not accept at all that IQ has anything to do with what they see as the ordinary run of jobs. My friends are not alone. Many industrial psychologists, many sociologists, and most corporate personnel directors will tell you that intelligence is nice but not necessary.

The conventional wisdom about this matter says that in filling employment openings, what you mainly need to know is the applicant's knowledge of the job, which you can typically infer from his experience, training, and formal education. You might also be interested in certain psychological traits of the applicant, like honesty and motivation; however, you have no reason to care about his intelligence, since the worker will absorb everything he needs to know through experience. An extreme form of this view was a quite serious suggestion put forward by sociologist Randall Collins in *The Credential Society*. Arguing that anybody could become a doctor, Collins proposed that we create our doctors by letting young people start out as hospital orderlies and gradually work their way up the medical career ladder.

The durability of the intelligence-doesn't-matter perspective is somewhat amazing. There is massive evidence demonstrating that in fact most occupations are filled within identifiable IQ ranges, and indicating that in most occupations, the best predictor of performance is not job experience or formal education but intelligence, especially intelligence defined as *g*. For generating some of these studies and pointing me to others, I am indebted to Robert A. Gordon of Johns Hopkins University and Linda S. Gottfredson of the University of Delaware, who together run the Project for the Study of Intelligence and Society.

The studies relating particular occupations to specified IQ ranges were developed principally by Professor Gottfredson and lean hard on data generated by the U.S. Employment Service with its so-called General Aptitude Test Battery. Although the USES is not exactly eager to emphasize the point, the GATB is a kind of disguised intelligence test. Herewith some of the IQ ranges (equivalent to scores on the WAIS) that Professor Gottfredson came up with based on analysis of the GATB data: physician, engineer: 114 or more; high-school teacher, real-estate sales agent: 108 to 134; fire fighter, police officer, electrician: 91 to 117; truck driver, meat cutter: 86 to 112. You will note that the IQ ranges associated with each occupation are fairly wide. However, the great bulk of jobs are filled near the midpoint of the ranges, so it is reasonable to think of each occupation as associated with a particular layer in the IQ pyramid. Or, to state the same thought in a possibly more provocative way, the occupational hierarchy is in large measure an intelligence hierarchy.

Why Test?

THE CASE for *g* as a predictor of job performance has been buttressed by an avalanche of empirical studies, centered on three huge data bases. One was put together by the late E. E. Ghiselli, a psychologist who was based at the University of California at Berkeley and spent a quarter-century (1949–73) of his professional life collecting and analyzing job-aptitude test records. A second data base consists of 515 studies performed over the years by the U.S. Employment Service. The third set of studies has been generated by the U.S. armed forces in connection with their never-ending efforts to ascertain which kinds of warriors should be assigned to which kinds of tasks.

In studies of these data bases, intelligence-test scores

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did best at predicting performance in jobs that had a high measure of complexity. But the predictions were still useful even for relatively unskilled jobs. Writing in the December 1986 *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, industrial psychologist Frank Hunter of Michigan State (a major participant in the studies) reported on the positive correlation between test scores and measures of job performance. For high-complexity jobs, the correlation was 0.58. (Positive correlations range from 0 to 1.) For the lowest-level tasks, the figure was 0.23, which is still "high enough to yield considerable utility," Hunter wrote. He added that there were no jobs at all for which tests of intelligence were not useful predictors. To be sure, there are some low-complexity jobs for which they are less useful than tests of psychomotor ability.

IQ scores are rising, but instead of colleges and schools bursting with young prodigies, we have those dismal SAT scores. How can it be?

Next question: How much do these predictions matter? Alternative form of the question: Are potential workers in any given job different enough in ability to justify a lot of testing before time is spent training them? The evidence suggests that they are. Or so you would conclude from a series of studies performed mostly by Hunter and industrial psychologist Frank L. Schmidt of the University of Iowa. They found that the differences between workers (as captured in objective measures of performance) were greatest in the more complex jobs but were significant at every level.

In a cluster of jobs that they ranked as "low complexity" (unskilled and semiskilled blue-collar jobs), the top 1 per cent of workers were about 50 per cent more productive than the average worker and three times more productive than the bottom 1 per cent. In "medium complexity" occupations (technicians and supervisors, for example), the top 1 per cent were 85 per cent above the average and 12 times better than the bottom 1 per cent. In the "high complexity" area (managers, professionals, and some technical workers), the top 1 per cent were 127 per cent better than the average; statistical complications made it impossible to quantify results for the lowest 1 per cent.

These data have some large and obvious morals. One is that companies able to identify good workers in advance should be in a position to do a lot for their productivity. This is precisely the claim being made for *g* testing: that at every level of complexity, it outperforms both "credentialism" and tests designed to measure specific job knowledge.

Another moral of the data is that you get the biggest payoff of all when you make superior predictions about high-complexity jobs. Hunter and Schmidt estimate that the productivity gain associated with a shift to *g* testing would be about two and a half times greater in high-complexity than in low-complexity jobs.

How much might the U.S. economy as a whole benefit from a broad shift to testing? A U.S. Employment Service team led by Hunter had a swing at that question several years ago and came up with an estimate of nationwide productivity gains worth around $80 billion (in 1980 dollars). This estimate was evaluated critically by a National Research Council panel. Its scholars agreed that many individual companies would benefit from testing; however, they dissented from the view that the country as a whole could get much mileage out of it. In thinking about the national economy, they observed, you run up against the awkward fact that it is ultimately expected to hire just about everybody. And if the bad workers will end up getting hired anyway, the gains from universal testing will perforce be limited. The ultimate problem, said the Council, is that "use of the . . . GATB will not improve the quality of the labor force as a whole."

The Council did not add: "and bring it up to Japanese standards."

Falling Scores

IF NATIONAL intelligence levels are a critical determinant of national performance, it obviously matters whether those levels are rising or falling. As previously hinted, the heavyweights of the psychometric profession are very much disagreed as to the direction of intelligence trends.

Begin with the fact that, by certain obvious measures, intelligence in America would seem to be slipping. Despite a partial recovery in the last few years, average scores on the Scholastic Aptitude Test are still well below the average of the late Sixties. There is broad agreement that much of the test-score decline can be explained by the broadening of the testee base—but also agreement that some part of the decline reflects a genuine loss in academic ability. And it is not only the broad average that shows slippage. College Board data also show a pattern of persistent decline in the fraction of testees who score at the higher levels. In 1990, for example, only 7.4 per cent scored over 600 on the verbal test (down from 11.3 per cent in 1972). SAT scores correlate heavily (about 0.8) with IQ test scores, so these data seem to signal an IQ decline.

To be sure, the SATs and other college admission tests are given to an unrepresentative group of young Americans—the half or so of high-school students who are college-bound. But the data for lower-school children are also depressing. A persistent theme in recent reports from the National Assessment of Educational Progress is the decline in children's thinking ability. Summarizing NAEP data that spanned two decades, the Educational Testing Service wrote last fall: "The NAEP results indicate a remarkable consistency across subject areas—students are learning facts and skills, but few show the capacity for complex reasoning and problem solving."

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There was no shortage of explanations for the decline. The boob tube was an obvious candidate. Deterioration in the schools was another. Also available were some solid-looking "dysgenic" reasons, i.e., explanations based on data showing above-average birth rates in the low-IQ population. Since it is now widely accepted that intelligence is highly heritable—with scholars typically estimating that 50 to 70 per cent of variability in IQ is attributable to genetic factors—dysgenic data would afford a convincing explanation of declines in thinking.

But this brings us to a rather awesome anomaly: IQ scores are in fact *rising*. The data show that in recent years American children have rather consistently scored higher on IQ tests from the Thirties and Forties than did the children who originally took them. The test results imply gains of perhaps 0.3 IQ points per year, which translates into some 15 points in fifty years. Which further implies that the difference between us and our grandparents is roughly equivalent to the current black–white difference in America.

Such IQ gains are by no means unique to America. They are being recorded in developed countries everywhere and turn up not only in broad-based IQ tests like the WISC but also in sharply focused tests of reasoning ability like the Raven Progressive Matrices. Furthermore, the gains have not been confined to young children. In the Netherlands, Belgium, and Norway, there were huge gains for military recruits (contrasted with recruits of a generation earlier), demonstrating that whatever is happening has a certain amount of staying power.

The data are puzzling, to put it mildly. If intelligence were in some broad secular rise of the kind showing up in IQ scores, we would expect to see a world far richer in geniuses, colleges bursting with young prodigies, lower schools with far higher proportions of gifted children. Instead we have explosive demands for remedial reading courses, dismal SAT scores, and those disappointing NAEP findings. How can it be?

Several solutions have been proposed. James R. Flynn, a New Zealand academic who did much to collect and publicize the data on secular gains, believes the gains mean mainly that IQ tests are not worth much as gauges of intelligence. But this "solution" only leads to other difficulties—a major one being that the tests continue to retain their predictive power. Which has to mean that they are measuring something, whether or not it is called "intelligence," that incorporates mental abilities in demand in developed countries.

Another approach has been to argue that intergenerational differences are meaningless: that intelligence is necessarily culture-bound and we therefore prove nothing by administering IQ tests from the past to children growing up in the Nineties. The import of this position is that each generation has its own learning, reasoning, and problem-solving challenges, and that it would be absurd to view Thomas Jefferson as unintelligent simply because a magically resurrected Jefferson would have trouble with much of the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale. "IQ simply cannot be used to compare individuals who have grown up in different eras," says Charles Locurto, a psychologist based at Holy Cross.

Richard Lynn has weighed in with a different answer. As noted above, he believes that the IQ gains are real and that intelligence levels are genuinely rising. Lynn believes the rise has been masked by academic declines reflecting poorer teaching and, perhaps, students less motivated to learn. He also believes that the IQ rise is attributable mainly to improved nutrition.

Like many of the academic scholars, I found his evidence on nutrition at once surprising and compelling. In addition, his hypothesis about the secular IQ rise seems to account for today's non-existent multitudes of prodigies. Lynn believes that earlier generations included much higher proportions of uneducated, malnourished, and generally retarded individuals with IQs around 60 or 70, while the individuals who accomplished anything were a relatively small elite. Today, Lynn believes, the IQ distribution is much less variable, reflecting the fact that nutrition-based gains have disproportionately benefited the low-scoring population—which would explain why the rising average IQ has not translated into an abundance of genius.

"And another thing, Richards. I'll decide myself whether I feel up to having a nice day."

Richard Herrnstein of Harvard says his own hunch is that the rising scores may be a one-time gain, concentrated in the lower half of the IQ distribution and reflecting a) mass education in developed countries and b) the emergence of much more pervasive media. The idea is that children today get far more intellectual stimulation than they would have received earlier in this century—but not the kind of stimulation that translates into higher-level reasoning abilities (which, remember, the NAEP studies find to be in decline).

It matters a lot which of these perspectives turns out to be correct. The best news would be a judgment in favor of Richard Lynn's hypothesis. Meanwhile, it also matters that none of the perspectives gives us reason to believe American IQs are gaining on those of the East Asians. □

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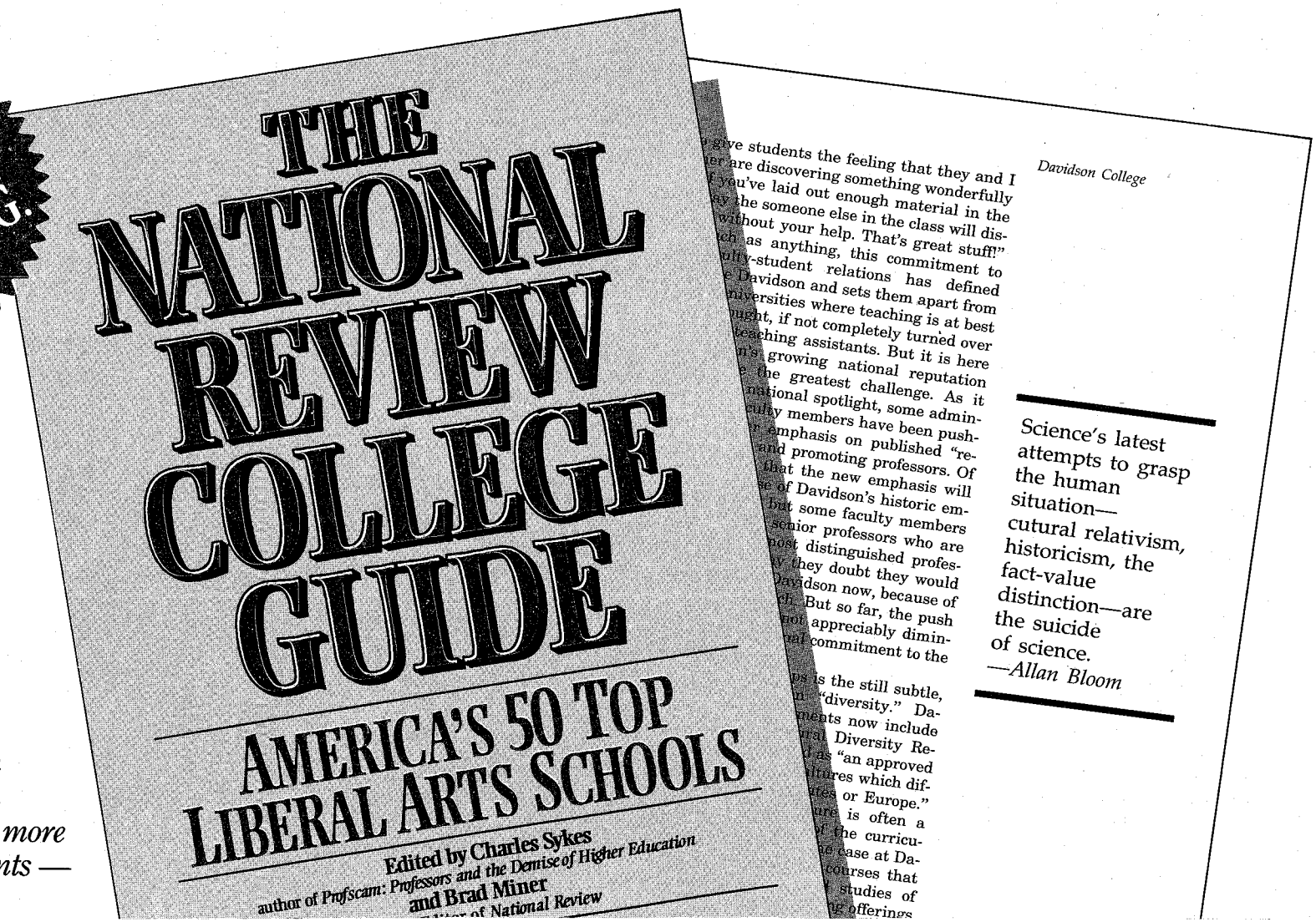
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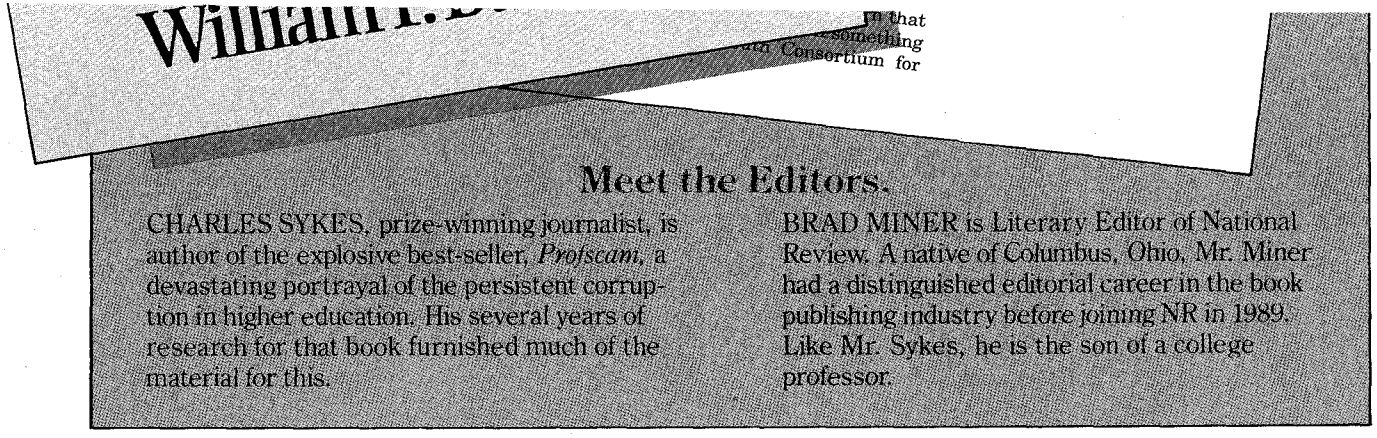
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BRAD MINER is Literary Editor of National Review. A native of Columbus, Ohio, Mr. Miner had a distinguished editorial career in the book publishing industry before joining NR in 1989. Like Mr. Sykes, he is the son of a college professor.

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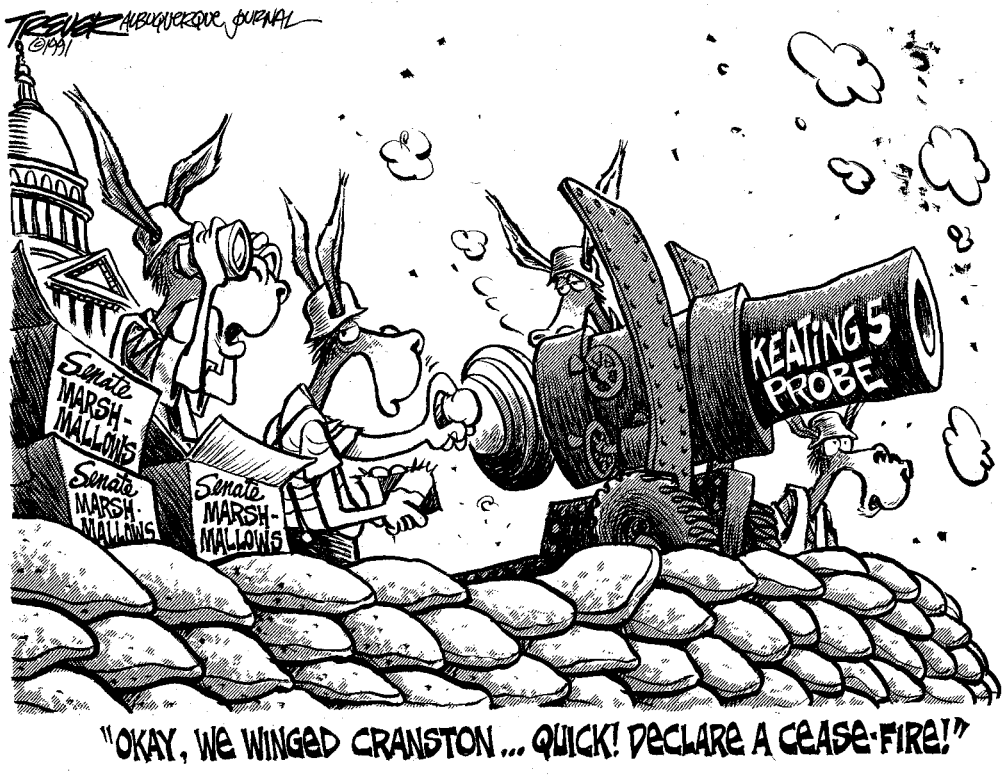
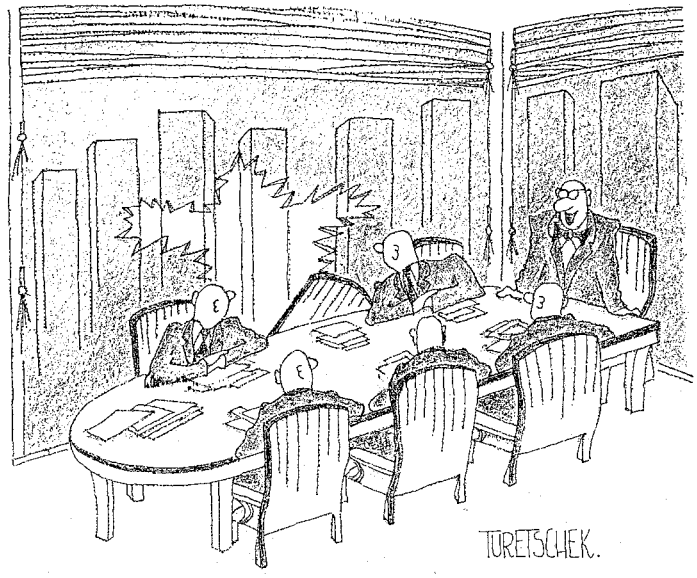


Shop till You Drop

Break out the plastic, Mother,
  And raid the bedroom safe:
The time has come to smother
  This slump before some waif
A Democrat discovers
  Gets on the tube to bleat
That mommy's taking lovers
  So baby-poo can eat.

W. H. VON DREELE



"Anybody else around here who thinks he knows when to quit?"

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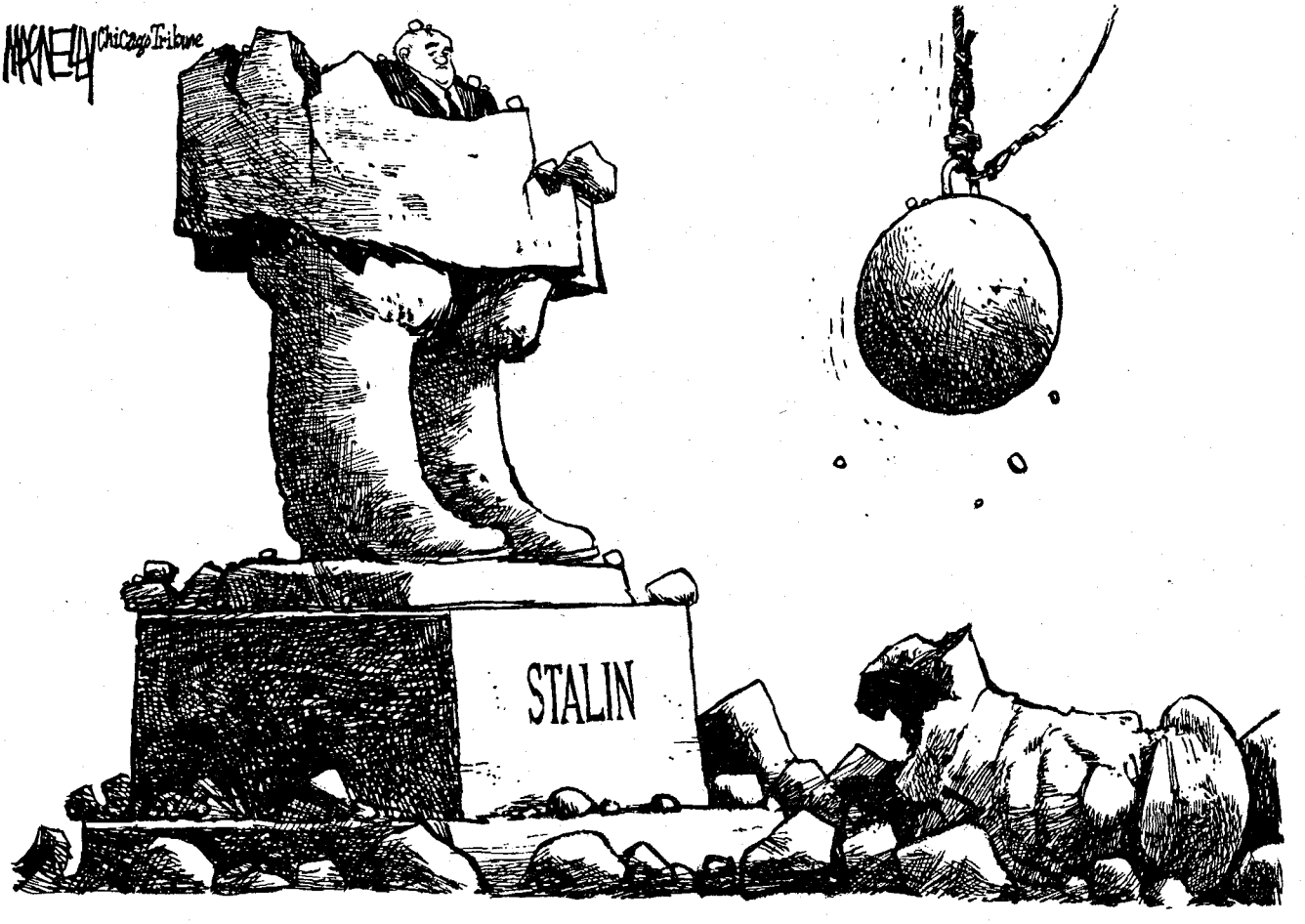
"You'll need a wallet transplant. Do you have a donor?"



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THE OIL SHORTAGE THAT WASN'T

True or false: The Arabs hold Western foreign policy hostage to our need for oil.
False—unless we make it so.

RICHARD MINITER

FOUR MONTHS ago, nearly everyone expected that if fighting began in the Persian Gulf oil prices would go through the roof. As the January 15 deadline approached, the price of oil climbed in step with mounting fears of an impending oil shortage. On the first business day of 1991 oil was $28.44 per barrel. When the New York Mercantile Exchange closed on January 16—just hours before the bombs started falling—oil prices had hit $32 per barrel. But the first casualty of war turned out to be high oil prices: when U.S. commodity markets opened the next day, the price of oil had fallen a sharp $10.56, to $21.44 per barrel—just about where it had been on August 1 of last year ($21.54). The price of oil plummeted when traders realized that the air war was going well and that oil stocks in industrial countries were at record levels.

That was the last thing the pundits had expected. "Failing a last-minute Mideast miracle, higher gasoline prices over the next few days look like a sure bet," the *Wall Street Journal* worried on January 16. "Prices will definitely go up," Bill Ligon, manager of the Texas Service Station Association, told the *Journal*. Though the price appears stable, a significant threat to oil supplies "will wake up the market pronto," said Cheryl J. Trench, executive vice president of Petroleum Industry Research Foundation.

It was not surprising that people believed these predictions. The dramatic increases in gas prices after Iraq invaded Kuwait had made a deep impression on many Americans, and they expected a similiar price rise when warplanes filled the skies of Iraq.

Prices in Perspective

THE AUGUST price rise should be put in perspective, however. Gas prices were set to rise *before* Iraq invaded Kuwait. OPEC had reached an agreement in late July to raise the price of crude oil some 40 per cent. If hostilities had not begun, industry analysts calculated, the price of gasoline, heating oil, and other petroleum products would have gone up by 10 cents per gallon anyway.

It was the embargo on Kuwaiti and Iraqi crude oil that set off the sharper price rise. The embargo dislocated about four million barrels of oil per day and was the greatest oil shock to America since the 1956 Suez crisis. The U.S. lost only 1.6 million barrels per day during the 1973–74 Arab oil embargo, and 3.7 million barrels during the Iranian crisis in 1979.

What's remarkable is how relatively painless this current oil shock was. True, gasoline prices increased by an average of 25 cents per gallon, but most consumers did not have to wait in long lines, and most service stations did not run out of gas. The reason is that this time we did not have an "energy policy."

Still, one relic of the 1970s did come back to haunt us. Some policy-makers began again to talk about "energy security," meaning foreign-policy concessions to oil kingdoms. In the 1970s America was repeatedly pressured by "experts" to back away from its pro-Israel stance in order to "guarantee" its supply of oil. The influence of this factor can be found in the U.S. sale of F-15s and AWACS to the Saudis, the quiet toleration of Saudi interference with U.S. arms shipments to North Yemen, an anti-Egypt tilt during the Egyptian–Saudi rivalry, a somewhat pro-Arab tilt in the Arab–Israeli conflict, a pro-Iraq tilt during the Iran–Iraq war, and the current intervention in the Persian Gulf.

Would appeasing Arab interests in fact make U.S. oil imports stable? Hardly. Oil prices are stable because markets work and because what the Saudis really want is not short-run high prices but long-run price stability. This is because, as former Saudi oil minister Ahmed Zaki Yamani explained to his countrymen in 1981, "If we force Western countries to invest heavily in finding alternative sources of energy, they will. This would take no more than seven to ten years, and

Mr. Miniter is an environmental-policy analyst at the Competitive Enterprise Institute in Washington, D.C.

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would result in reducing dependence on oil as a source of energy to a point which will jeopardize Saudi Arabia's interests."

This policy occasionally puts the Saudis at odds with their neighbors. Yamani made this clear in a recent *Time* interview. When asked about Iraq's oil strategy, Yamani responded: "I wonder if Iraq has a strategy. Saddam may only have temporary oil policies, depending on his large financial requirements."

Those who believe oil sheikhs are less interested in riches than in making political statements are deluding themselves; those who say that political concessions are necessary to keep oil prices low are simply trying to peddle an agenda which includes price controls at home and concessions to the PLO abroad. The strangest people echo this regulatory agenda. When asked recently what the U.S. should do, Yamani said: "Well, I think you should encourage exploration. You have to establish good relations with the producers and have a stable supply of oil for yourself and the Western alliance. You have to be more cautious about how to consume energy."

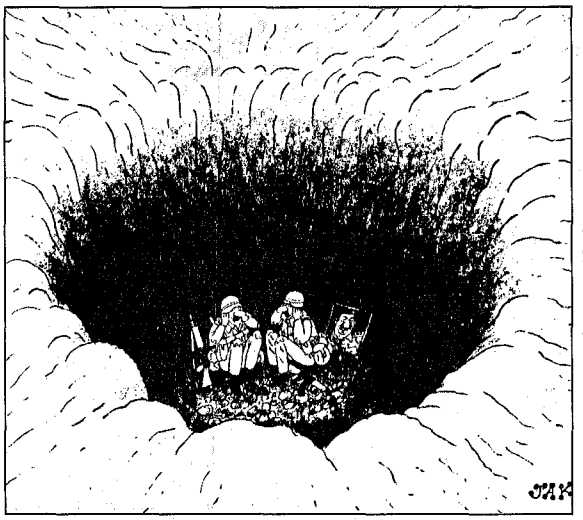
Why would Yamani urge Americans to seek non-Saudi sources and consume less oil? If his advice were taken seriously it would cost the Saudis billions. But Yamani knows how to reinforce the prejudices of Westerners. And he knows a plea for "good relations" and a "stable supply of oil" will subtly remind Americans of their interest in Saudi Arabia.

But while Yamani has consistently told the West what it wanted to hear, he has sung a very different tune at home. During the 1981 AWACS debate, Yamani told Leonard Silk of the *New York Times* that his country "has been moderate in [its] demands on the price of oil because Saudi Arabia desires military hardware from the United States." Yet at a press conference in his own land, Yamani said: "I see no connection between the OPEC price decision and the AWACS issue. . . . Certain OPEC [members] refused to lower their prices to reflect market realities."

Throughout the 1970s America repeatedly overpaid, with diplomatic concessions, for an already precious commodity. One "expert" pushing the political-concessions line was Walter Levy, who consistently made predictions in the pages of *Foreign Affairs* which just did not pan out, such as: "Around the mid 1980s or early 1990s, when the specter of imminent oil shortages begins to haunt the world, the opportunities for large advances in the real price of oil are almost certain to become decisive."

Levy made this prediction while acknowledging that the price of oil fell 20 to 25 per cent in real terms from 1974 to 1978. He attributed this to "restraint exercised by Saudi Arabia with the support of Iran and a few other OPEC members." Levy argued that OPEC had allowed its profits to be trimmed by one-quarter out of the goodness of its heart.

Nor was Levy the only one who got it wrong. George W. Ball, a former U.S. under-secretary of state, has a history of urging closer ties with Arab oil producers and warning that catastrophe would come if his advice wasn't followed. In 1973, Ball worried that "the U.S. import bill for oil may be something like $18 billion by the early 1980s." He said this was "a very alarming figure," and that our import bill should be closer to $6 billion. By 1980, the U.S. import bill was over $100 billion—and the economy didn't collapse.



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"I don't know about you, Tariq, but I don't feel half as fanatical as I used to!"

Ball told a roundtable discussion group in September 1973 that OPEC countries will earn more in oil profits than they could ever "need." By "almost any projection," Arab states will have "earnings far in excess of their absorptive capabilities." While Ball feared that all the oil kingdoms combined could spend no more than $40 billion a year, Saudi Arabia alone spent $200 billion on public projects between 1975 and 1980.

Despite a record of failed prophecies, Ball continued to push his view that political pressure must be applied to Israel to ensure a stable oil supply. "Unless we make prompt and serious progress toward solving the Palestinian problem, we can expect to see our energy needs increasingly held hostage to our Middle East policies," Ball wrote in 1980.

The Saudis' Little Gift

THE VIEW that political forces wholly controlled the price of oil led to some interesting opinions. It was widely reported in 1980, for example, that the Saudis increased oil production as an "Independence Day gift" to President Carter. The market explanation is less exciting, but built on solid evidence. Supply and demand drive oil prices; politics can only cause short-term price spikes. After both the 1974 and 1979 price increases, oil prices fell sharply in real terms. As a result of the twin price spikes in 1979, demand for OPEC oil fell and OPEC production had to fall with it, from a peak of 32 million barrels per day in 1979 to 24 million per day in 1981. As world demand continued to shrink, OPEC was forced to cut prices and squeeze profits.

During the war between Iran and Iraq, the oil production of those two nations was severely restricted. Yet this conflict did not touch off a supply shortfall or a price increase. Other oil producers, especially Saudi Arabia, took up the slack.

At least one of the warring nations feared that it would permanently lose market share. As early as 1981, Iran's oil minister, Mohammed Gharazi, threatened that even if the Islamic Republic "has to resort to force" to win back its share of OPEC production, it would, once the war with Iraq ended. History has a way of repeating itself in the Middle East: Iraq's dispute with Kuwait also involved OPEC production quotas, among other things.

Meanwhile oil-importing nations

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were working on the demand side of the equation. Oil that was used to make heat and steam could be cheaply replaced by burning coal and splitting atoms. France now meets about 80 per cent of its domestic electricity needs with nuclear power. (The U.S. failed to take full advantage of nuclear energy for political reasons.) While nuclear-power plants are large capital investments, once those costs are sunk the marginal cost of nuclear fuel is very low—currently corresponding to about $4 per barrel of oil.

More efficient cars also diminished demand for oil. In 1973 the average new car consumed 13 miles per gallon; by 1990 the figure was 27 miles per gallon. (Although that is not an unmitigated good. Most cars become fuel misers by sloughing off weight, but lighter cars do not survive accidents as well as heavier cars.)

"If you're not a grouch, how come they won't let you in Murphy's Bar during happy hour?"

And yet some editorial boards still believe oil kingdoms are immune to market forces. A recent *Washington Post* editorial said: "Unlike the other leading oil-producing countries, Saudi Arabia, with its minimal domestic requirements and its enormous accumulated wealth, has wide discretion in deciding month to month how much to pump."

This theory of immunity to market forces led some Democrats, including Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell (D., Me.), to call for a return to the Carter "War on Energy Dependence." But that war produced only Pyrrhic victories. One battleground in those days was Beverly, Massachusetts. The high school there installed a solar-electric system in 1980 at a cost of $2 million, hoping to save $10,000 per year in electric bills. "This would have corresponded to break-even in two hundred years, but hopes of achieving it by the year 2280 were shattered two years ago when the contraption conked out," writes Petr Beckmann in a recent issue of *Access to Energy*.

When it became clear the Bush Administration was going to take pains to avoid the pitfalls of Carter's energy policy, not everyone was pleased. "Gone are the higher mileage requirements for gas-guzzling autos," wrote Tom Wicker in a recent *New York Times* column. "Gone are [new] federal regulations to impose energy conservation, any suggestion of government intervention in the sacrosanct private sector, all impolitic urgings toward consumer sacrifice." This echoes the common derision of Reagan's energy policy. "Oh, is there a U.S. energy policy?" Yamani said, neatly capturing the conventional wisdom. "I understand that your policy is no policy."

The policy-that-is-no-policy has been an unblemished success, however. Within the first year that Reagan removed oil-price controls and abolished over two hundred other energy regulations, oil consumption fell, oil prices fell in real terms, and domestic oil production increased for the first time in a decade. And the policy-that-is-no-policy produced no gas lines or fuel shortages. Even with the upheaval in the Gulf, American gas prices are now less than 40 per cent in real terms of what they were in January 1981.

While the 1973 Arab oil embargo boosted oil prices, it was the national energy policy that created the other problems. Yamani is quick to point out that there was always "enough oil, a huge stock . . . The gas lines were not done by me."

The $40 a Barrel Question

ALL OF this raises the question: Can oil ever be used as a foreign-policy tool? Imagine that Saddam Hussein had become able to dictate Saudi oil policy. That would have given him control over some of the richest oil fields known to man. Saddam might then have expected to hold U.S. diplomacy hostage.

But don't bet on it. To inflict real economic damage, Hussein would have had to cut Saudi oil production by an amount greater than the unused production capacity of other nations—which is not easy or cheap. Meanwhile, other producers would have increased production to grab market share. During the recent embargo, world oil production from the North Sea and Venezuela increased to meet the demand. Revenues from the Saudi oil fields would have dropped by somewhere between $50 and $100 million a *day*. By contrast, the Saudis give about $70 million a *year* to the PLO and about $200 million a *year* to Syria.

Nor would Saddam Hussein have been in control of a majority of the world's oil. Even if Iraq had come to control the entire Arabian peninsula, Saddam would have had a little less than 22 per cent of the non-Communist world's oil supply.

Finally, the hope that the United States would have conceded, once the oil weapon was wheeled into battle, is faint. During the 1974 Arab embargo the United States did not yield to OPEC's demands. In fact, once the Saudis realized the December 1973 price increases would stick, they increased production for every month of the first quarter of 1974—despite their threats to cut production each month until Israel retreated from the occupied territories.

In short, if the Gulf states are rational they will not try to use the oil weapon, and if they become irrational, it is pointless to exchange political gifts for oil deliveries.

Despite the evidence, many policymakers refuse to learn the lessons of the 1970s. When the Carter Administration was repeatedly reaching out to Arabs and trying to "solve the Palestinian problem," no easing of oil prices occurred. The Reagan Administration was firm in its commitment to Israel, and oil prices fell. The moral of the story is not that closer ties with Israel create oil gluts, but rather that OPEC is more responsive to markets than to politics. □

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NEW BEDFELLOWS

MOON OVER MOSCOW

SOL W. SANDERS

FOR over a decade Reverend Moon and his Unification Church have posed a sticky problem for American anti-Communists. Could they in good conscience take the largesse that the Moonies were eager to offer, with few apparent strings attached? Were there more to those reports of Moonies "programming" their young converts than just the liberal media's hostility to anything smacking of religious conviction?

The dilemma may be resolved in an unexpected way, with a dramatic ideological shift on the part of Reverend Moon.

This shift became painfully apparent to a number of anti-Communist participants in the 11th World Media Conference, which the Moon apparatus staged last April in Moscow. Much to the chagrin of the American conservatives present, the conference became the setting for a meeting between Moon and Mikhail Gorbachev —including a serenade for Raisa by Moon's Little Angels dance group. Rumors inside and outside the movement say a quid pro quo for the meeting with Gorbachev was a gift of $1 million from the Moon organization to various Soviet "charities."

Moon spokesmen explain his newfound friendship with Moscow (and Communist China) as a projection of an old Christian injunction, "Hate the sin, love the sinner." But Moon's interview with the Soviet weekly *Za Rubezhom* (*Abroad*), reprinted widely in the U.S., set his increasing commitment to the Soviet Union alongside increasing criticism of trends in the United States. He had once seen the U.S., with its multiracial and democratic institutions, as the center of the world. Now he said, "Nations such as the United States and many other countries in the Western world have often abused freedom. . . . Their traditional value systems are being eroded. America, for example, is beset with tremendous problems—drug addiction, racial violence, and moral corruption in the political leadership, just to name a few."

In another interview Moon told *Moscow News*, "The Soviet Union will be at the center of God's providence in the next century. Fortunately the Soviet Union has avoided some of the evils of Western society. . . . I clearly envision a moral renaissance for the Soviet Union that will dramatically affect the entire world. One of my greatest goals is to catalyze that renaissance."

Reverend Moon's rapprochement with Moscow is paralleled by, and connected with, a similar rapprochement on the part of the South Korean government. When South Korean President Roh Tae Woo met with Gorbachev for the first time last summer in San Francisco, President Woo's representatives are said to have complained to Gorbachev's entourage about Moon's "meddling." Indeed, the Moon organization's overtures to Moscow preceded the official South Korean encouragement of business cooperation with the Soviets. Moonies even claim their Moscow conference set the stage for the Roh–Gorbachev meeting.

In any case, a larger accommodation between the Republic of Korea and its former bitter Communist adversaries is developing rapidly. The USSR and the ROK have established formal diplomatic relations, and trade between South Korea and the Soviets increased by half in 1990. In Moscow hotels these days South Korean businessmen almost outnumber Germans. On the very day that the European Community postponed new Soviet credits because of the Baltic crisis, Seoul announced that it was alloting $3 billion to fund South Korean exporters doing business with Moscow.

Meanwhile, Seoul has opened a trade mission in Peking headed by a high ROK diplomat. Moon has a $250-million automobile plant under construction in China, the largest wholly foreign-owned operation Peking has permitted. Moon has even been given permission to open a technical school for Korean ethnics in Manchuria in northeast China. (Even so, both Peking and Pyongyang refused to host this year's World Media Conference.)

All of this comes at a time when the Communist North Korean regime, refusing to budge from Stalinism, is increasingly broke, diplomatically isolated, its future snarled in a seemingly insoluble succession problem for the aging dictator, Kim Il Sung, between his son and his ambitious second wife. Precisely because of Pyongyang's problems, Korean reunification is no longer a wild speculation.

This is of the greatest interest to Moon himself. A native of what is now North Korea, Moon underwent torture at the hands of the Korean Communists; he was liberated by UN troops during the Korean War. Naturally, Korean reunification has always been at the center of Moon's political concerns.

Lunar Eclipse?

THE CHANGE of focus and direction will obviously affect Moon's relations with his American arm's-length associates. There are reports of cutbacks at the *Washington Times*, although the paper's peripatetic editor, Arnaud de Borchgrave, vigorously denies them—as he denies any implication that the paper is tied to Moon's religious and other activities. With its political gossip and occasional scoops, the *Times* has won respect even from the city's liberals, but it is still rolling up huge deficits (estimated at $250 million since the paper was launched in 1982) funded by profits from Moon associates' other enterprises, largely in Japan and Korea. De Borchgrave says there are nine purchase offers on the table, all of which the Korean owners have so far rejected; however, he suggests that the paper will pass into other hands sooner rather than later. Meanwhile, Ambassador Sang Kook

Mr. Sanders covered Asia for more than 25 years for various U.S., European, and Asian publications. Madison Books recently published his Living Off the West: Gorbachev's Secret Agenda and Why It Will Fail.

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Han, the man with the sharpest pencil among Moon's principal lieutenants in the U.S., has moved to the *Times* as co-publisher. Colonel Bo Hi Pak, a former South Korean military intelligence officer and a familiar figure around Washington as Moon's chief lieutenant, has apparently been permanently transferred to other Moon ventures in Asia.

Morton Kaplan, editor of the ponderous monthly *The World and I*, a Moon-inspired attempt to reach American intellectuals, says that there has always been a conflict between more sophisticated members of the Moon affiliates and "simplistic" political activists among the Moonies and their non-church collaborators. Kaplan, a University of Chicago professor, argues, like other Moon fellow-travelers, that Moon has never interfered with his operations. He does admit that the idea for his magazine, its size, and its general subject matter are dictated by Moon personally.

The *New York City Tribune*—Moon's first effort at funding an American newspaper—was admittedly not an arm's-length venture, and its closing this January may have been a straw in the wind. It had been starved for funds for years, though its death rattle may have been extended because its editor, Robert Morton, a Unification Church member, has a reputation as a veteran professional journalist. But its eventual demise was ascribed as much to what many (including de Borchgrave) in other Moon operations saw as its continuing, bitter anti-Communism as to its failure to make a dent in the New York media world. Readers of de Borchgrave's *Insight* magazine, once viewed as a well-edited conservative version of *Time* and *Newsweek*, have seen it swing dramatically toward a new accommodating line on the Soviets, e.g., a longer-than-usual cover story on Dwayne Andreas of Archer–Daniel–Midland, extolling the virtues of an American economic alliance with the Soviets against Japan.

Tom Ward, a spokesman for two of Moon's organizations in America, now says the Moonies' politics were "misunderstood." "We were never an organization on the extreme Right," says Ward, an Irish-American who was once a Marxist student in Paris, and who was converted by Moon in 1972. One of Ward's organizations, CAUSA—the most militantly political of two dozen public-affairs, cultural, and religious groups affiliated with Moon—had been the main bridge to American conservatives. Ward's other group, the American Leadership Conference, is now bringing over Soviet exchange fellows to its seminars, which were formerly carefully couched dialectical exposures of Marxist thinking.

All this leaves out in right field Joseph Churba's International Security Council, a policy and strategy think-tank which Moon began funding after a long period of precarious independent existence. Churba, formerly with the Defense Intelligence Agency, has been able to attract a following, particularly among the U.S. military, for his conferences and statements on policy options. ISC also publishes a quarterly, *Global Affairs*, edited by former Deputy UN Ambassador Charles Lichenstein.

An Orthodox Jew of Lebanese origin, Churba views regional conflicts, in the light of continuing U.S.–USSR conflict. He continues to take a hard-line anti-Communist position. Moonie insiders are waiting to see if and when the axe falls on the ISC, particularly since Churba last year won an internal set-to with Moonie administrators whom he charged with inefficiency and ousted.

Messianic Thoughts

MOON, nearing 71, appears to be looking at his own mortality, and at the future role of his Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity, the official title of his church. Although Unification Church spokesmen are still guarded, Moon "did give a clearer expression than ever before" of his own religious vocation last August at a San Francisco meeting. Those who attended the Assembly of the World's Religions believed they heard Moon announce himself for the first time publicly as the Messiah, a role hinted at often in church literature but never explicitly stated publicly.

That will pose difficulties for some of the more religious among those Christians who are still working with Moon's think-tank and exchange pro-

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grams. It builds on the very plainly stated formulas explicated by the movement's erudite female chief theologian, the late Young Oon Kim, from Moon's own "Divine principle." These formulas see a failure of Jesus' first coming, reject the traditional Christian Trinity, and take the position that the crucifixion was a "mistake," rejecting the Christian doctrine of Jesus' death as the expiation of sin.

At the moment, all the Moon organizations are building toward a World Cultural and Sports Festival this summer in Seoul which will feature "the wedding of the century" where "up to one hundred thousand people will join this worldwide family of people from all races, nations, and religious backgrounds." Marriage is the most important sacrament of the Unification Church; it was the joint marriage ceremony in 1954 of Moon and his wife and another 35 couples that formed the church's "council of elders." The spectacular mass weddings, an integral part of the Moon philosophy, have been one of its most bizarre aspects to many Westerners. Murray Baron, an old anti-Communist warhorse, said it was the 1976 mass marriage "of automatons" in New York City that ended his close collaboration with the Moonie political-action groups.

It is hard to come by accurate membership figures for the American branch of the Unification Church. However, with the new emphasis on Korea, the USSR, and China, it seems likely that the Unification Church will quietly fall into the vast matrix of American religious life, along with such other non-mainstream churches as the Shakers, the Mormons, and Jehovah's Witnesses.

In any case, Moon's role in the Soviet–South Korean game of *Realpolitik* may be more interesting than the residue of the quarrels of the 1960s over young Moonies who left their families for the semi-communal life of the Moon holy family. □

RISE AND FALL

WHEN ATTILA IS DEAD

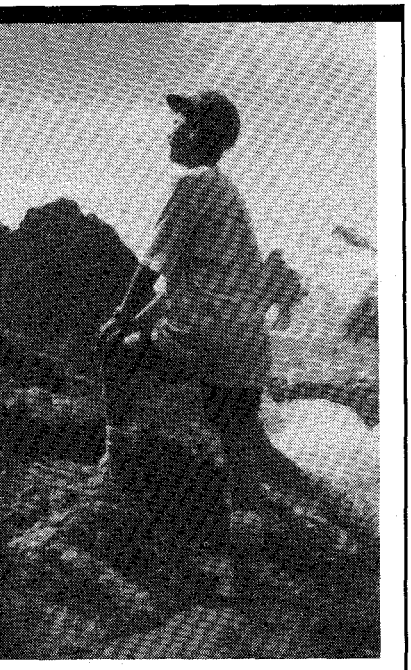
JAAN KAPLINSKI

IT HAS happened many times in history. A nation, a people is seized by a sudden burst of destructive, barbaric energy. The old leaders fall, new ones emerge, the established order is turned upside down. Often this is coupled with strong expansionist tendencies: powerful armies are built up and new territories are conquered. In the beginning, these armies are nearly invincible—the Huns, the newly Islamic Arabs, the Mongols. The well-trained soldiers of the neighboring states cannot match the ferocious energy of these barbarians, who crush and loot everything that stands in their way.

The rise and fall of such barbaric empires is intimately connected with charismatic military and religious leaders who succeed in mobilizing all the energy of the nation into one great effort. Nearly always, after the death of this charismatic leader, the empire he has built up falls apart in one or another way. Sometimes so does even the empire-building nation itself. Where are the Huns, where are the Goths, where are the Manchus, where are the Macedonians? The Roman and Arabic empires, however, lasted much longer. Here, the military conquest was not as rapid as the conquest of the greater part of Eurasia by the troops of Genghis or Attila. The Romans and Arabs were much more numerous and able to assimilate other nations and build up an effective administration.

A barbaric society is nearly always militaristic: here a man is primarily a fighter, a soldier; the best thing for a man to do is to make war. If this emphasis on the military side of life is not too strong, the society is able to de-

Mr. Kaplinski is the leading poet of Estonia. The Wandering Border *and* The Same Sea in Us All *are available in the U.S. from Copper Canyon Press and Breitenbush Books, respectively.*



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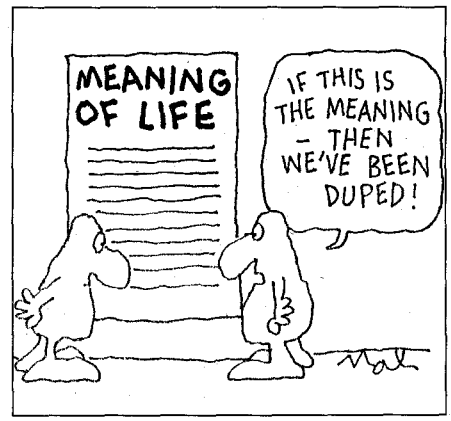
velop, to become step by step less aggressive and more civilized. If the militarism becomes too dominant, the society can easily destroy itself completely, depleting both its material and its spiritual resources.

The New Huns

THIS WAS clearly the case with the Macedonians, the Huns, and the Mongols. Sometimes I feel this is also the case with the Soviet empire. In a way, it's certainly a special case, but there are remarkable parallels. The Soviet Union is the result of a revolutionary, extremely violent restructuring of the old Russian empire. The barbarous origins of the Russian empire lay in its not-too-distant past; the popular memory had conserved the images of periods of violence and anarchy. This was repeated on a much bigger scale after the October Revolution in 1917. The not yet fully developed civil society in Russia was completely destroyed and, after some years of nearly *bellum omnium contra omnes*, a new society emerged. It was characterized by very strong messianic tendencies and absolute emphasis on fighting the enemies who were present everywhere. The newly formed Soviet society was highly militant and militaristic, a fact that was concealed by its Marxist rhetoric and by its claims that it was the heir of the Western humanistic tradition.

In fact, what seems astonishing to us now—the bloody rise of Red Russia and its subsequent barbaric deeds—was greeted enthusiastically by many brilliant intellectuals both in Russia and in the West. The sympathy of such people as Bernard Shaw, Romain Rolland, and Jean-Paul Sartre for the new empire and its naïve ideology was an enigma for me in my youth and remains an enigma even now. I think the Bolsheviks owe their popularity to the lucky confluence of several factors. There was the terrible shock of the First World War, a rather successful suicide attempt by Western Civilization that turned the best Western minds to a search for something different. There was the subconscious, half-mythological admiration for the mysterious Mother Russia. And there was the exploitation of this admiration by the Bolshevik regime, which built up an unprecedented propaganda machine. The Bolsheviks succeeded in creating what was no less than a second Platonic reality, an image of the Red Paradise that conformed with the age-old myths and longings of mankind. We have all wanted fairy tales to come true, but never before had a state declared that it was in fact a fairy tale come true. And many people were unable to accept that this was purely and simply a skillfully prepared lie. It seemed more proper to speak of the naïve goodwill of the Western intellectuals, and of their unpreparedness to confront the totalitarian propaganda machine, than to speak of their treason.

In fact, what was called Communism or Socialism in the USSR should have been called simply a state of war. Martial law, a state of war, a state of



siege, a state of emergency are the terms which cover nearly every aspect of life in a so-called Communist country. A state of emergency means the suspension of some freedoms, tightening of state control over the citizens (police surveillance, censorship), concentration of most resources in the hands of the government, subjection of intellectual activity to propaganda needs, and the glorification of the military and the rise of its authority in fields other than the war effort itself.

All of these traits were and still are clearly present in the USSR. The Soviet empire has been characterized as a huge concentration camp, but it would be more appropriate to call it a huge military camp. One of its all-pervasive traits was secrecy, which is clearly something characteristic of a nation at war.

The Soviet war effort was very successful. The Bolsheviks, a tiny minority, established their rule over Russia. The new empire helped to defeat Nazi Germany and Japan and became the big power in Europe, subjugating the whole of Central Europe to its rule. It created some client states in Asia and Africa, and its naval buildup gave it the possibility of intervening even in distant regions such as the Horn of Africa or Cuba. In brief, the USSR became one of the two military superpowers in the world, giving other nations reason to be disturbed by Soviet expansionism.

But at the same time, in the Sixties and Seventies, when the empire had reached the peak of its military strength, its economy became more and more stagnant. The state which was able to put hundreds of spy satellites into orbit and build a formidable modern navy was more and more unable to feed, to lodge, and to clothe its people. The balance between the civilian and military sectors of life was upset and the society was suffocating. Some younger and smarter leaders began to realize that the empire was in a deep crisis. We might borrow an old Chinese saying: "You can conquer a state on horseback, but you cannot rule it on horseback." The problem of Gorbachev and of any reformer in the USSR is that this empire was built and rebuilt as a militarist conquering state. The more civilized and balanced structures it inherited from the Russia of the czars were systematically destroyed, and the return to them seems desperately difficult.

The Soviet ideology was really pathological: the sick was considered sane and vice versa; continual attempts were made to cure people from their common sense and normal behavior. The empire identified itself completely with its sickness. Can it possibly recover from it without disintegrating? Is it more similar to the Arab Caliphate and the Roman Empire, which lasted for centuries, or is it a short-lived state like that of the Huns or the Macedonians? I am myself inclined to think it is more like the latter, and, like these, it will probably not survive the death of its charismatic, messianic ideology.

The future will soon show us if this analogy is valid. But I think those Western Sovietologists who identify the USSR with such more or less normal empires as the Roman Empire or the Russia of the czars are in error. Present-day Russia is Russia reshaped and ruled by a tribe of militant barbarians not subject to the laws governing the history of civilized people. □

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The Way We Were

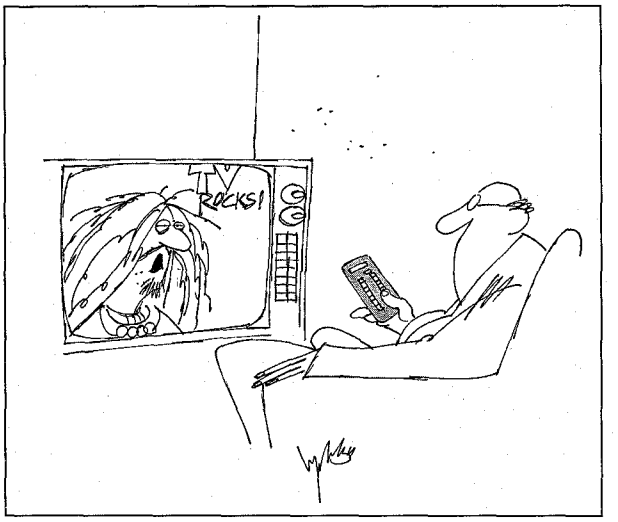
ANTHONY LEJEUNE

THE UNDOUBTED hit, for me, of the current television season in Britain was fifty years old—a complete showing of the Hardy Family films. They are not only charming, skillful comedies, they are almost unbearably nostalgic and extremely thought-provoking. In them the young treat grown-ups respectfully. Sons call their fathers "sir." A kiss on the porch is a major step. Drugs are unheard of: the worst folly is to drink too much or fail an exam through over-confidence. Mom, apple pie, and the white picket fence are the universal images of contentment. Perhaps most incredible of all to modern viewers, when Andy Hardy is worried that a letter may not reach New York the next day, the mailman tells him confidently, "If New York's still there, your letter will be there."

An Arcady which never was and never could be? Not in the least. When the Hardy films were made, MGM received shoals of letters saying how true to life they were and that "our own son is just like Andy." At one point Louis B. Mayer learned, to his horror, that Mickey Rooney was having an affair with Norma Shearer, who, at 38, was almost old enough to play Andy Hardy's mother. Mayer carpeted Rooney, and told him, in no uncertain terms, to end the relationship at once. "Behave yourself!" he thundered. "You're Andy Hardy. You're the United States. You're a symbol!"

And he was. The Hardy films very well represented the picture of America with which the world, at that time, grew up. But they were far from unique. Even the dark side of the 1930s—the Depression and the bread lines, crime and corruption—was not allowed to be wholly dispiriting. Frank Capra and the Gold Digger movies, *The Grapes of Wrath* and *Tobacco Road*, Paul Muni and Edward G. Robinson, left the impression of a society which, though it had its troubles, was fundamentally decent and striving and full of hope. The influence of Hollywood in the 1930s and '40s, how it shaped the way Americans felt about themselves and the world felt about America, was a political fact of great significance.

Look here, upon this picture, and on this. Observe, by contrast, the product of modern Hollywood, aimed largely at juvenile audiences which, according to the received wisdom, most like to see "defiance of authority, destruction of property, and people taking their clothes off." What are called "adult movies," in the highbrow as well as the pornographic sense, are no more encouraging; decency and hopefulness are not among the qualities to which they aspire.



"Welcome to all our fans and to you guys who hit the wrong button on your remote control."

The specimens of Young America paraded before us on the screen tend to be foul-mouthed, women no less than men; sexually promiscuous; unkempt (designer stubble is more common than William Powell–type elegance); and inarticulate. Since Marlon Brando and the Actors' Studio taught players to mumble, it has been hardly worth while for scriptwriters to compose the sort of rounded lines which the old well-groomed stars, such as Ronald Colman and Frederic March, could speak so eloquently.

Conspicuous among the features which have been lost is uncomplicated patriotism. Would any modern Western end, like *Drums along the Mohawk*, with settlers, having repelled an Indian attack, looking up at the newly designed Stars and Stripes and saying simply, as Claudette Colbert did, "It's a pretty flag"? The modern view was expressed by Kevin Costner, the star and director of *Dances with Wolves*: "The Indians were doing just fine without us. There was a beauty in what they were, and an ugliness in what we were."

Once upon a time a whole succession of films about America's principal military academy—*Ten Gentlemen from West Point*, *The Long Grey Line*, *West Point Story*—came to the conclusion that, quaint customs and all, it was a pretty good place doing a pretty good job. Recent films, such as *The Lords of Discipline*, about American military schools have, almost without exception, shown them as sinister and sadistic places.

The change in war films has, of course, been even more acute. Compare an old movie like *The Real Glory*, about American military aid to the Philippines at the turn of the century, with all the brutal, disillusioned narratives about Vietnam—*Platoon*, *Full Metal Jacket*, *Apocalypse Now*. John Wayne's *The Green Berets* is considered such an embarrassment that nobody will even admit it to have been a rousing, well-made adventure story. Nor has this change simply been toward a more realistic, soldier's-eye view of war. These new films assert that war is invariably a corrupting process, particularly for American soldiers and especially for American officers. The military virtues—courage, devotion to duty, honor, discipline—are constantly deprecated: the vices, the failures, are emphasized. For example, the author of the non-fiction book on which *Air America* was based complained that

Mr. Lejeune is NR*'s longtime London correspondent.*

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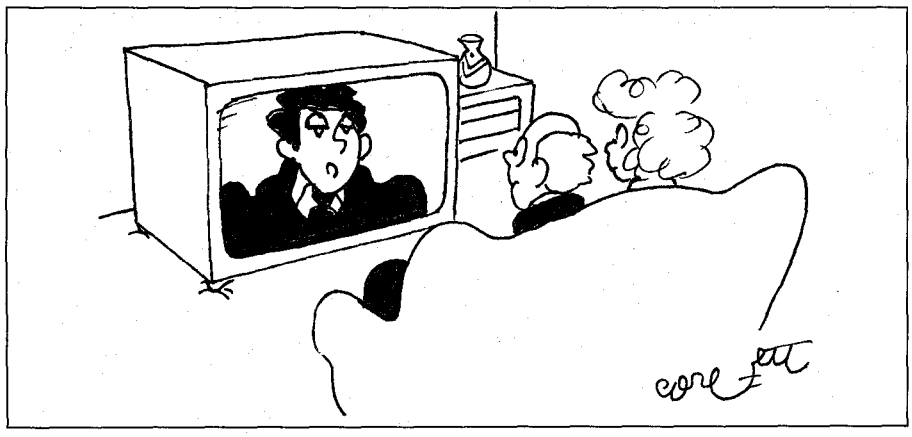
the film perverted the facts to imply official American involvement in drug-trafficking and to make President Nixon a villain.

If the old values are still to be found anywhere, it is in the simpler kind of television series. The standards of conduct proclaimed in *The Cosby Show* or *Major Dad* are impeccable. *Bread*, a seamy British sit-com about the unemployed, is currently being translated for the American market: and, in the process, the social-service scroungers who were the heroes of the British series have become energetic job-seekers. Even *Beverly Hills, 90210*, which seems, at first glance, an apologia for brattishness and conspicuous expenditure, turns out, at the end of each episode, to point a moral which would not have disgraced the *Little Folks* magazine that my mother used to read before the First World War.

The trouble here is that the moralizing appears too blatant, too ingenuous (or disingenuous), as though it were stuck on artificially rather than felt—as the moral of a Capra film was plainly felt. A touch of irony, a drop of healthy cynicism, would render these series less cloying and more plausible. A great gulf divides *The Front Page* from *Lou Grant*, *Roxy Hart* from *L.A. Law*: but, excellent though both those series are, the difference is no moral improvement, because the liberal messages come too pat.

The first episode of *Mancuso FBI* constituted a prize specimen. Mancuso, we were told, was "a dinosaur in the modern FBI," a rough tough right-winger. But what did we see? The plot centered on a former American ambassador who, having been proposed for some important political job, is under investigation by the Senate. Because of his leftist inclinations, a wicked military faction tries to frame him for unspecified sexual irregularity. The villains are finally arrested by a virtuous black colonel. Meanwhile, the following exchange of dialogue has occurred. The ambassador, accused of being a "bleeding-heart liberal," responds indignantly: "Senator, I'm going to ask you a question. Is it liberal to endorse sanctions against South Africa, civil rights, tougher environmental standards?" To which the reactionary Southern senator, defeated by this keen thrust, starts to answer: "I agree with you, sir, but—" The whole room bursts into thunderous applause for the ambassador, in which Mancuso joins. Some dinosaur!

Perhaps the most bizarre example of thoughtless political moralizing was an episode of *L.A. Law* in which the caring young attorney establishes that Benny, the firm's mentally defective filing clerk who, in a previous episode, was found unfit to plead to a criminal charge, is entitled to vote. "I voted!" cries Benny as he emerges from the polling booth in the final shot, and we are supposed to cheer. Whether it is absolutely the best advertisement for democracy that a mental defective and a Supreme Court Justice have the same voting power is a question too genuinely disturbing to be asked.



"The following opinions are not necessarily those of this station or any sane person!"

A man from Mars, even a man from London, whose idea of America was derived wholly from the screen would surely conclude that most American judges today are black or female or both, that modern American women are repellently aggressive and modern American men either despicably wimpish or brashly insolent, that homosexuals are the nicest people around, and that every small town is a hypocritical mire of unspeakable vice. He would shudder at the ethics of big business and shiver at the ruthless conspiracies germinating within the CIA. (A score of films, from *Three Days of the Condor* to the latest, *Havana*, would have warned him about the CIA.)

Just as old Hollywood was beneficial to America both domestically and globally, so new Hollywood is inclined to be damaging. Plato explained long ago how works of art—music, literature, and surely, if he'd known about them, films—can either ennoble or debase; artists whose work was harmful should, he thought, be asked politely to go somewhere else. Audiences came out of an Andy Hardy film wanting to be good, wanting to be kind to each other. They came out of a John Wayne movie wanting to be brave, out of an Errol Flynn movie wanting to be chivalrous, out of a Gary Cooper movie wanting to be the salt of the earth. No one could honestly assert that the typical product of Hollywood today makes Americans feel better about themselves or the world feel better about Americans. This is no light matter, for Hollywood has been and is the nation's most influential industry.

The justification could be that modern Hollywood merely reflects modern America. I do not believe that's true. To some extent, Hollywood's image of America has indeed been self-fulfilling. Bad language, for example, has become more socially acceptable (or at least more common) partly because Hollywood has indulged in it. Just as real acts of heroism were performed by people seeking, consciously or unconsciously, to emulate John Wayne or be worthy of Jean Arthur, so today's youngsters may have an urge to be slobbish and insolent because their screen heroes are slobbish and insolent. But much more of traditional America survives than a stranger would guess from the evidence of the screen. Traveling in the United States during recent years, I have seen many contented small towns, affectionate families, womanly women, and manly men, even quite well-behaved children, not so different from a Norman Rockwell cover.

General de Gaulle had "*une certaine idée de la France*," of which he thought actual Frenchmen had proved unworthy. Similarly there is, or was, a cer-

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tain idea of America, which Hollywood once promoted and has lately betrayed. It was a very good idea.

Are there hints that the tide may turn? Films like *Top Gun* and *Memphis Belle* were still "youth"-oriented, but their youthful heroes were not drop-outs. It may be, as Richard Brookhiser argues and, some dubiously say, *Mr. and Mrs. Bridge* exemplifies, that WASP values are returning to fashion. But we need more evidence. As a passionate pro-American, I need reassurance. For America's sake and the world's sake, bring back Andy Hardy. □

Black-and-White in Color

JOHN SIMON

THE EXERTIONS of the House Un-American Activities Committee—HUAC—constitute one of the more deplorable chapters in American history. One does not have to endorse Communism in order to recognize how irrational, undemocratic, and destructive were the policies that pitted Americans against fellow Americans, and equated paranoid persecution with righteousness, and the most benightedly sentimental or casually curious looking to Soviet Russia (our ally in the war) for social justice with dyed-in-the-wool conspiracy.

There were, of course, hard-core Communists in America, though probably not all that many when the investigators began in 1947, and fewer still at the time covered in ***Guilty by Suspicion***, 1951 to 1952. Once the United States emerged from the Depression, opportunities for decent living were better than in any other country bigger than Switzerland. In any case, what HUAC went after mostly was people in the arts and the academy, supposedly the mightiest threats to American values. Yet it is possible to see what masqueraded as patriotism as being, in many cases, the bourgeoisie's puritanical hatred of bohemia, the lowbrow's resentment of eggheads, and the nonentity's bid for superstardom by bringing stars to their knees. There was also genuine albeit largely supererogatory fear of the Communist Menace, hardly more than the eternal need for bugbears, for someone to make a scapegoat of by way of parading one's own superior virtue.

If Irwin Winkler, who wrote and directed *Guilty by Suspicion*, had the vision, skill, and courage of an artist, if he could discern the roots of evil in ordinary people, and also see their demagogic manipulators in the full round—if, in short, he knew how to analyze and dramatize human motivation—he might have given us a complex work of art instead of a piece of dull and derivative liberal claptrap. Second-rate as they may have been, even such pictures as *The Front* and *The Way We Were* loom large beside Winkler's sorry collection of bromides.

Alan Nahigian

There is not a single full-blooded three-dimensional character in *Guilty by Suspicion*; not one relationship examined with original, idiosyncratic penetrancy; not a patch of dialogue, save for the occasional one-liner, that has the pungency of freshly reimagined human talk. Instead, clichés, banalities, movie- and TV-begotten plotting, characters, and conversations drag out their moribund existence for the 105 minutes of the film's duration.

David Merrill, the protagonist, is (we are told, though not shown) a highly gifted filmmaker, who has been in France preparing a film and is now, in 1951, ready to start shooting. He has returned to Hollywood for the final financial go-ahead—although, I would think, financing is what comes first. Since HUAC went into action in 1947, with immediate and drastic results, David, who has scarcely an inkling of what has been going on, must a) have been preparing that film in France for four years or more, b) not have read a newspaper or heard a broadcast in that many years, c) not have paid a visit to his estranged but still fond wife, Ruth, and beloved and loving sub-teenage son, Paulie, in Los Angeles, or d) be a congenital imbecile. The most dedicated immersion in filmmaking still stops short of being swallowed by quicksand.

Back in Hollywood, David seems wonderfully impervious to heavy hints and occasional boots in the groin for the longest time as he rides about in his white sports car, a Lochinvar on fancy wheels but with defective sparkplugs in his head. Ruth—who (as we find out only much later) was also, briefly and idealistically, involved in gatherings in private houses, including her own, where Communism was mooted and flirted with—is just as dense as the once similarly fleetingly interested David about the horrors happening now. Paulie, who watches perfect color television somewhat prematurely (for technology, I mean, not kids), seems more informed and aware than either parent. Period authenticity, by the way, is sometimes shaky here; Robert De Niro, who plays David, often wears an Armani- or Versace-style jacket undreamt-of in 1951.

But David has a powerful protector in Darryl Zanuck, the almighty head of Twentieth-Century Fox, who, however, wants him to "purge" himself before HUAC before he hands him a great new script. (What happened to the great old script that kept David in France for four ground-breaking years?) Finally, a sleazy producer hires David to work on a dubious Western, but promptly and cravenly dismisses him. Such figures are shown as comic-sinister caricatures; conversely, a screenwriter–actress couple, whose marriage and lives are destroyed by the husband's naming names, emerge as tragic caricatures.

Winkler cannot make lesser figures come to life, which is not surprising when you consider how he fares with major ones. The writer-director began as a mailroom boy at the William Morris agency and, in a true American

Mr. Simon is NR*'s film critic.*

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success story, went on to become a top-flight Hollywood producer. A short distance, though, compared to the leap from producer to writer-director. At one point, David says something like, "I miss the reviews. Would you believe it? I miss the reviews." Does a swallow miss spring?

Needless to say, David is surrounded by cowards, hypocrites, traitors, and 98-pound moral weaklings who are meant to double as heartbreakingly innocent victims. Though Ruth is very supportive for an estranged wife (at one point, David refers to her as his "ex-wife"), everyone else is of no use to or against him. We don't see any "unfriendly witnesses" offering him support and advice, nor do we see any of those clever fellows who, like Abe Burrows and Bertolt Brecht, played dumb or clowned their way past the congressional investigators. When David goes to New York to try to make it in the theater, the director husband of his former girlfriend, a Broadway performer, discreetly leaves for the weekend. When the woman, still in love with David, receives him in her home but finds out he is being trailed by the FBI, she quickly asks him to leave, but offers him money, which he staunchly refuses.

Perhaps the best scene of the movie shows David being driven from some menial job in New York by the intimidation wrought on his kindly old employer by some callow FBI agents, who simultaneously dog David's footsteps and refuse to address him directly even when he exasperatedly explodes at them—well, maybe, just barely, then. But the movie loses its last shred of credibility when, at the climactic HUAC hearing, it puts into David's mouth (after the cowardly attorney leaves his brave client in the lurch) the simple but shattering words famously hurled at Joe McCarthy by the jurist Joseph L. Welch. Forthwith, a weak and cowering friend of David's, the rewrite man Bunny Baxter, finds the courage to defy HUAC in turn.

One of the more unappealing aspects of the film is the way it mixes real names with invented one, actual people with fictions, thickly disguised characters with thinly disguised ones, e.g., Ray Karlin for Roy Cohn. It is rather like a timorous gossip column that switches to blind items at the merest hint of displeasure. Which is not to say that the use of real names would have conferred authenticity on this film that has HUAC inadvertently playing Cupid to David and Ruth by restoring, under trial, their conjugal love. This could happen, but in terms of what is meant to be demonstrated, proves counterproductive.

Then there is Joe Lesser (i.e., Joseph Losey), a friend and fellow director of David's, played by Martin Scorsese. A confirmed Communist, he refuses to jeopardize his friends, and cheerfully moves to England instead—as Sam Wanamaker, too, playing the weasely lawyer, did in real life. But as the movie presents it—and Scorsese amateurishly acts it—pulling up stakes and relocating in Britain is child's play. In which case, why didn't David and many others follow suit? With climactic fuzziness, Winkler ends his film with David scoring a moral victory, and the emotionally reunited couple, David and Ruth, beaming as they leave Washington. But then a title card states that not till twenty years later did the wounds inflicted by these events begin to heal, which is having it both ways.

Typically, Winkler has the dreary Patricia Wettig (from the trendy TV show *thirtysomething*) playing Dorothy Nolan, the tragic Hollywood star whose marriage, motherhood, and movie career are ruined by these upheavals, and whose somewhat theatrical suicide is supposed to epitomize the ultimate injustice of it all. If Miss Wettig were up to this role, if she could transcend the writing and direction she was up against, her death could be deeply moving. As it is, she starts her performance at such a pitch of hysteria that she can proceed only toward total travesty. Even her cinnabar tresses, the color of the underpainting of steel girders, are more appropriate to a dumb starlet than to the great actress she is supposed to be, and her demise leaves one dry-eyed.

Yet who *could* give a genuine performance in this movie? Even as fine an actor as Robert De Niro is reduced to creating a character from an unruly hairstyle, the crinkling up of the skin around the eyes into a kind of ocular origami, and letting his expressions do a slow march from puzzlement to dis-

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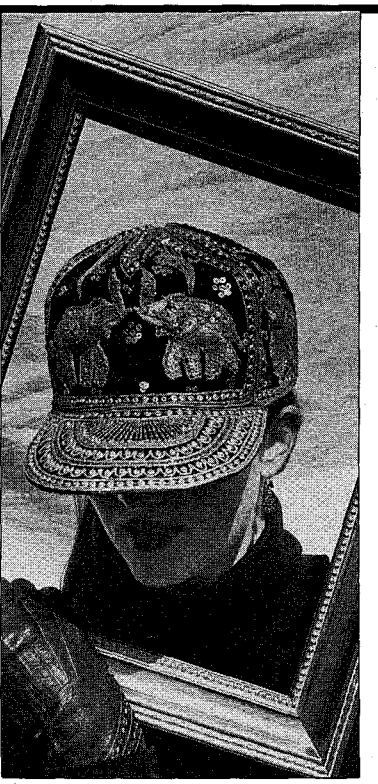

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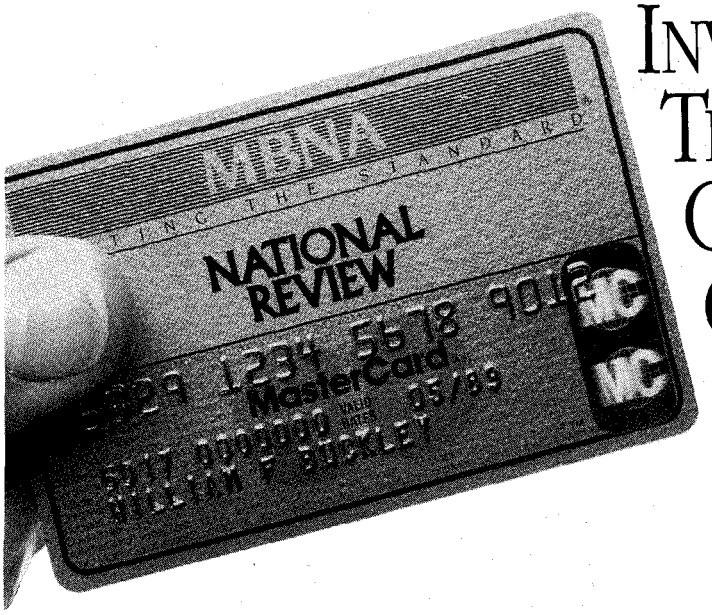

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may to utter bewilderment. He cannot make even a pigskin purse from the sow's ear handed him. And the talented and seductive Annette Bening (see what she can do in *The Grifters*) is stuck with turning Ruth into a series of reproachful or apprehensive looks covering a vacuum. Adding insult to injury Michael Ballhaus's camera fails to do right by her looks.

Otherwise, Ballhaus performs with his usual acumen, and helps make the mostly fake locations look good and real. There are many instances in Hollywood's annals when the cinematographer really did a novice director's work; this might well be one of them. But Ballhaus can't put the needed ambiguity into Winkler's all-white or all-black characters. Yet if, by some miracle, this were the truth, a poster is all you could get out of it. □

The Way They Are

GEORGE SZAMUELY

THE POSTER FOR *Guilty by Suspicion* displays a pensive Robert De Niro, endowed with an "artistic" mop of hair and looking out intently at a film. Next to him runs a text: "In the 1950s a war was being fought in the U.S. A committee of Congress sought to control the creative community through fear and censorship. Anyone who disagreed with them became . . ." The next line to be read is the title in bold letters.

Guilty by Suspicion deals with the 1951 HUAC hearings. Yet the phrases "creative community" and "fear and censorship" suggest more recent concerns. In particular they bring to mind the so-called Creative Coalition, established last year by a number of Hollywood celebrities, including Ron Silver, Susan Sarandon, and Alec Baldwin, to promote, according to its leading light Christopher Reeve, such causes as free choice on abortion, protection of the environment, and, above all, the preservation of the National Endowment for the Arts.

Though this advertisement may have been devised exclusively by the Warner Brothers marketing department, it characterizes accurately what must have been Irwin Winkler's intention in writing and directing such a film at such a time. The movie blends into perfect harmony the preoccupations of Hollywood's Old Left and those of its younger liberal activists. There have of course already been films treating the same subject. Yet previous efforts like *The Front* (1976) and *The House on Carroll Street* (1988), both written by the once-blacklisted Walter Bernstein, were expressions of outrage at the supposed indignities anti-Communists inflicted on Communists. *Guilty by Suspicion* is the first film that uses the Committee hearings as emblematic of the indignities that Washington inflicts on Hollywood.

Though the political message of *Guilty by Suspicion* is hardly subtle, the film is quite confusing. It is not hard to see why. Originally Abraham Polonsky was to write the script. In 1951 Polonsky had been a screenwriter—with *Body and Soul*, starring John Garfield, to his credit—and a Communist Party member who chose to plead the Fifth Amendment. In interviews Winkler has let it be known that Polonsky had wanted to make David Merrill, the accused film director played by De Niro, a Communist. When the two men disagreed, Winkler won, and Polonsky remained an uncredited advisor to the film. But this left Merrill's "political problems a mystery." Even as stalwart a defender of the Hollywood Communists as Victor Navasky wrote that the Committee "went after Party members and former Party members exclusively, and subpoenaed nobody who had not already been identified as a Communist by at least two sources." There was never any question of Hollywood liberals like Humphrey Bogart or Frank Sinatra or Katharine Hepburn having to appear before the Committee to "clear" their names as Merrill has to do.

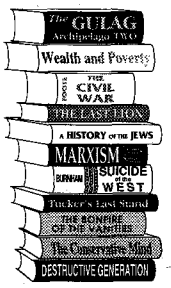
If Merrill had never been a member of the Party, it is not immediately obvious why he would want to destroy his career by making it seem as if he were—and yet that is the effect of the climactic scene. When Merrill gets to Washington, instead of adopting the tone of contriteness that had been urged on him, he launches into the Committee. As the chairman's gavel pounds repeatedly, he questions the Committee's right to inquire into political affiliations; he refuses to name names ("I am not going to let you hurt innocent people"); he admits to having attended one or two Communist meetings in 1939–40 but, "They threw me out. I argued too much"; he admits to having been a member of something called the Hollywood Peace Forum because he wanted to "eliminate the atomic bomb." When one of the congressmen, holding up a photograph of Merrill's wife, a schoolteacher, attending a Peace Forum rally, declares, "She must be barred from influencing young minds," Merrill turns on him and asks, "Have you no shame?" Joseph Welch's famous words from the Army–McCarthy hearings are clearly meant to bring Merrill's defiant performance to a triumphant conclusion. The director marches off and HUAC is left spluttering and foaming and banging to no avail.

This episode obviously recalls the

(Continues on page 58)

Mr. Szamuely is a writer in New York.

AUDIO BOOKS



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The Multicultural Madhouse

CHARLES J. SYKES

THE RECENT flood of attention to "political correctness" on American university campuses ranks among the most remarkable developments in the long history of the struggle for sanity in higher education. For years, stories of the academic Thought Police, debased standards, and politicized curriculums have circulated in *samizdat* among a handful of besieged academics. But it has only been in the last six months that readers outside of academe have been able to get a glimpse of just how bad things have become. Besides a growing number of books on the subject, there have been cover stories in such unlikely venues as *Newsweek*, *The New Republic*, *New York*, and *The Atlantic*. Even the *New York Times* and *The New York Review of Books* have taken notice of the stranglehold of the rigid new orthodoxies of race, class, and gender on scholarship and pedagogy alike.

This suggests that the battle for the soul of the academy has been joined. If so, it is hard to imagine a more potent weapon than Dinesh D'Souza's

Illiberal Education: The Politics of Race and Sex on Campus, by Dinesh D'Souza (Free Press, 320 pp., $19.95)

Illiberal Education. Exhaustively researched, cogently argued, and sweeping in its range, *Illiberal Education* is both a primer on the breadth of the crisis and a penetrating critique of the fundamental issues that underlie the assault on academic values, free speech, and intellectual integrity in American higher education.

A former White House domestic-policy analyst and now a fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, D'Souza surveys the politics of racial quotas at Berkeley, the bogusness of "multiculturalism" at Stanford, racial incidents and censorship at the University of Michigan, the subversion of academic standards at Duke, and the politics of gender and race at Howard and Harvard. He argues persuasively that each case reflects the transformation of the "intellectual and moral infrastructure of the American university," a shift that has affected who is admitted to college, what students are taught, and what they are permitted to say and believe.

Katherine Trunk

Echoing Shelby Steele, D'Souza characterizes this academic upheaval as "the victims' revolution" on campus, a revolution "conducted in the name of those who suffer from the effects of Western colonialism in the Third World, as well as race and gender discrimination in America. . . . Since the revolutionaries view xenophobia, racism, sexism, and other prejudices to be endemic and culturally sanctioned, their project seeks a fundamental restructuring of American society. It involves basic changes in the way economic rewards are distributed, in the way cultural and political power are exercised, and also in privately held and expressed opinions.

"The American university is the birthplace and testing ground for this enterprise of social transformation."

This insight is critical, because it recognizes that many of the current fads of the academy—from Lacanian and reader-response criticism, to deconstructionism—are ultimately only *tactical* in their significance and therefore easily replaceable. As bizarre and troubling as these nihilistic doctrines may seem, they too shall pass sooner or later. But their real importance lies in the political agenda they conceal, a program which they have advanced with notable and, indeed, remarkable success to date.

As D'Souza notes, the intersection of the various aspects of the academic revolution is the politics of race. The triumph of *Illiberal Education* is D'Souza's success in exposing the dishonesty and hypocrisy of what James Coleman has called policies of "conspicuous benevolence."

Under the banner of "diversity," universities have imposed ethnic-studies requirements, set up "sensitivity" gulags for the unenlightened, purged reading lists of books by "dead white guys," imposed limits on free speech, and created elaborate and divisive affirmative-action programs both for admissions and for the hiring of faculty members. Despite claims to the contrary, D'Souza documents the ways in which such hiring and admission programs have become inflexible quota systems; while the policies of "diversity" have resulted in growing separatism and bitterness in campus life. "From the moment [minority students] arrive on campus," he notes, "they know the rules have somehow been politically rigged and their fate as individuals depends on whether they belong to the favored group or the unfavored group."

At Berkeley, for example, D'Souza reports that a black student is twenty times as likely to win admission as an Asian-American student with the same test scores and grade-point average. At some Ivy League schools, minority students have been admitted even though they had combined SAT scores five to six hundred points below

Mr. Sykes is author of The Hollow Men *(Regnery Gateway) and co-author of* The National Review College Guide *(Wolgemuth & Hyatt).*

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the average for the rest of their class. At Penn State, black students who maintain average grades of C to C+ get a check for $580; if they do better, they receive $1,160. Whites, Asian-Americans, Native Americans, and Hispanics receive nothing. Despite the obvious potential for resentment at such policies, faculty members and students are actively discouraged from commenting upon the disparities in treatment. At the extreme end this amounts to the rise of a new McCarthyism on campus, including formal gag rules aimed at "racist" speech.

At the same time, universities seem anxious to encourage racial separatism by acquiescing in the creation of all-black dorms, separate graduation ceremonies, and racially exclusive student unions. As D'Souza perceptively notes, such separatism serves a therapeutic function for minority students, who often face enormous academic difficulties and may suffer from "feelings of competitive rejection." Having frequently been set up to fail by zealous affirmative-action officers, minority students understandably retreat to the relative safety of their group identities. Unfortunately, such separatism tends to feed racial tensions on campuses. Even though this is an unintended consequence of such policies, it is an inevitable one.

As D'Souza remarks, "Racial balkanization is the natural consequence of principles which exalt group equality above individual justice."

D'Souza exposes the evasions and double-speak of the mandarins of the academic revolution with skill and wit. But one could wish for stronger prescriptions. D'Souza's final chapter offers several "modest proposals" that are somewhat disappointing and even misguided. He favors the retention of affirmative action, but suggests the criteria be shifted from race to socio-economic disadvantage. This would indeed be an improvement.

It is less clear that the climate of the universities would be significantly improved by adopting D'Souza's suggestion that colleges devise a required course for all freshmen that "exposes them to the basic questions of equality and human difference through a carefully chosen set of classic texts that deal powerfully with those issues." D'Souza insists that such a solution would retain the "best that has been thought and said," while at the same time engaging "the contemporary questions of ethnocentrism and prejudice in bold and provocative fashion."

But why enshrine the political agenda of oppression studies in the curriculum? And why concede that "ethnocentrism" and prejudice are the pre-eminent issues that students must confront? In his attempts to strike a moderate and conciliatory note, D'Souza yields the revetments to the enemy even before the battle begins. Academic sanity cannot be restored merely by changing the reading lists of courses whose focus is ideological proselytization.

Even so, this hardly detracts from the immense value of D'Souza's book, which seems certain to become a touchstone for the debate over liberal learning in America's colleges and universities. □

War, More or Less

WILLIAM R. HAWKINS

Chang Park

MARTIN van Creveld's theme is that low-intensity conflict (LIC)—terrorism, guerrilla warfare, civil strife—has rendered obsolete the large-scale conventional wars for which soldiers now train. The account of this transformation is billed as "the most radical reinterpretation of armed conflict since Clausewitz." This reference to the Prussian soldier-theorist is made not because *Vom Kriege* is "the greatest work on war and strategy ever written within Western civilization" but because Clausewitz tied his theory to the modern nation-state. Mr. van Creveld sees the decline of the nation-state but not the decline of armed conflict—thus the need for a new guide to strategic thought.

The Transformation of War, by Martin van Creveld (Free Press, 254 pp., $22.95)

> There has been speculation that war itself may not have a future and is about to be replaced by economic competition among the great "trading blocs" now forming in Europe, North America, and the Far East. This volume will argue that such a view is not correct. Large-scale conventional war . . . may indeed be in its last gasp; however, war itself, war as such, is alive and kicking and about to enter a new epoch.

This new epoch will be marked by "sporadic small-scale war."

> Extensive conflict of this nature will cause existing distinctions between government, armed forces, and people to break down. . . . Armies will be replaced by police-like security forces on the one hand and bands of ruffians on the other. . . . National frontiers . . . may be obliterated or become meaningless as rival organizations chase each other across them. As frontiers go, so will territorial states.

As a military historian (Hebrew University, Jerusalem), Mr. van Creveld finds a precedent in the Middle Ages, when wars were fought by small bands of professionals within a fragmented political order for justice, religion, honor (and sport) as much

Mr. Hawkins is director of the Hamilton Center for National Strategy, in Nashville, Tennessee.

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for land or profit. One major difference, however, is that in the Middle Ages chivalry minimized the impact on non-combatants, whereas today terrorists specifically target them. Still, Mr. van Creveld holds to the analogy, arguing that "the day-to-day burden of defending society from low-intensity conflict will be transferred to the booming security business, and indeed the time may come when the organizations that comprise that business will, like the *condottieri* of old, take over the state."

The few regular government soldiers remaining will have to become like their opponents, true warriors fighting a no-holds-barred combat with personal weapons. "The shift from conventional war to low-intensity conflict will cause many of today's weapons systems . . . to be assigned to the scrap heap." Very probably it will "also put an end to large-scale military-technological research and development."

Mr. van Creveld bases his predictions on the scale of LIC already seen. Its role in decolonization changed the map more than either world war. Millions died in India, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Cambodia, Afghanistan, the Philippines, and other Third World battlegrounds, far more than in the conventional wars of the Middle East or Asia. He acknowledges the Iran–Iraq war as an exception, but lists Vietnam as an LIC despite the large conventional forces deployed on both sides.

Yet casualties are a function of time. High-tech/high-intensity conventional wars that produce decisive results

RIGHT BOOKS

■ Shortly after signing the Treaty of Brest–Litovsk in 1918 Lenin was asked about his intention to comply with its harsh terms. He replied: "We are violating the treaty; we already violated it thirty or forty times." This brash response established a precedent in Soviet diplomacy preserved by each of Lenin's successors, including, most effectively, Mikhail Gorbachev. In *The Long Pretense* (Transaction, 303 pp., $19.95) Arnold Beichman traces the history of Soviet treaty diplomacy, vividly exposing its inherent fraudulence and hostile intent.

This is an old story to readers of this journal, but Mr. Beichman's work is rich enough in detail to provide a compelling case for rethinking even a conservative relationship with the Soviets. His thesis asks two questions: First, in the light of their irrefutable record of non-compliance, why is the West still so anxious to negotiate with Communist oligarchies? Second, what would happen if we stopped negotiating with the Soviet Union altogether until it began adhering to previous agreements? As the euphoria over Comrade Gorbachev's "reforms" was flattened by tanks in the streets of Vilnius, Mr. Beichman's work is timely as well as intriguing.

There is still among Western intellectuals a queer respect for utopian ideologies. Mr. Beichman refers to a *Washington Post* headline: "Soviet Union to Halt Plutonium Production." This hyperbole referred to Gorbachev's intention to close two of the Soviets' 12 plutonium reactors. The United States hasn't produced any plutonium in 25 years.

Likewise, Gorbachev's announcement that he intended to cut the Soviet military budget by 14.2 per cent was punctiliously reported by an enamored press. According to Mr. Beichman, though, this was a Big Lie. Six months before that announcement, U.S. Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci had been told by the Soviets themselves that "for technical reasons" there was no way to estimate the Soviet military budget.

But not all the credit for the Soviet caricaturization goes to the media. As Mr. Beichman seethingly emphasizes, every President since Franklin Roosevelt has believed himself to be the man who would appeal to the honor of his Soviet counterpart. So each has pursued a policy of "treatyism," or signing treaties assuming that as the Soviets adhere to small parts of each, gradually the threat they pose will diminish. This practice was first questioned at the highest level by Harry Truman. In his memoirs, Mr. Truman stated: "[Stalin] broke twenty agreements he'd made with Roosevelt and he broke 32 with me. I don't know how you're going to be able to tell in advance that a man is going to make agreements and then break them."

Treaty diplomacy, Mr. Beichman points out, has been a primary means by which the Soviets have been able to manipulate the policies of the world's free-market democracies. Through the Western media and the peace-talk junkies, Soviet negotiators have sent carefully contrived signals about their interest in mutual disarmament to Western voters. They thus hang on their politically driven counterparts the burden of achieving "progress" in arms negotiations.

Accountable to no one, the Soviets wage strategic war at the negotiating table, pressing their Western adversaries to abandon any technical or strategic threat to Soviet war models. The result has always been the same: unilateral limitation of Western arms (although a certain Arab dictator might be wondering if Soviet negotiators hadn't failed at that task of late).

The Long Pretense makes the case for self-enforcing treaties and for a realistic, as opposed to optimistic, approach to negotiating with Communist governments. If the Soviets sign a non-self-enforcing treaty, historical precedent suggests, their compliance will be ephemeral. Therefore, says Mr. Beichman, it makes little sense to pursue such agreements.

Just how to respond when brazen Soviet negotiators threaten not to comply with previously signed agreements—for instance, reintroducing weapon systems already proscribed by treaty—is much more difficult. As a starting point Mr. Beichman suggests the West put aside its delicacy and expose any and all treaty violations for what they are. This alone would be a big step, as witness the overwhelming Senate defeat of the 1988 Symms Amendment that would have required the President "to certify that the Soviets had ceased violating treaties . . . before the INF Treaty became effective."

In this work Arnold Beichman avoids the columnist's temptation to editorialize needlessly. Rather, we get a well reasoned, heavily documented discourse on Soviet ideology and its continued pre-eminence in Soviet foreign policy. While the cold-war stage of the great revolution has ended in defeat for the Soviets, the warning is clear: Soviet ideology accepts occasional setbacks and defeats as inevitable, but while circumstances change the struggle with capitalism rolls on.

—ALLEN RANDOLPH

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quickly keep casualties low (at least for the victors). LICs can drag on for decades, generating large cumulative losses because the weapons used cannot force a decision. Mr. van Creveld focuses on the frustration of governments at being unable completely to eradicate terrorists or guerrillas, but neither can such armed gangs seize control of an entire country. Mao Tse-tung argued that final victory could be won only if rebels eventually fielded a conventional army that could defeat the forces of the government in open battle. Thus the importance of sanctuaries where a real army can be built and of foreign support for modern weapons.

U.S. intervention delayed this evolution for a decade in Vietnam, but in the end it was North Vietnamese regulars supported by tanks and artillery that took Saigon. (In contrast, the U.S. devolved into LIC, hunting guerrillas instead of driving on Hanoi as in a conventional war.) The Iran–Iraq war lasted so long because neither side had the means to defeat the other. But in the Arab–Israeli wars, the Falklands war, and the Gulf War, decisive defeats were inflicted.

From his experiences fighting the Nationalists, Mao did not consider that the enemy would quit without being defeated. Surrendering without being defeated was a development unique to Western democracies. However, it is not necessary to destroy a conventional army to the last man in order to defeat it. Break its organization and it will retreat or surrender. In contrast, terrorist bands must be annihilated, since even one fanatic can plant a bomb or fire into a crowd. This is why an LIC cannot be "won" in the sense that all violence ceases. Victory must be defined as an end to violence on a scale that threatens the state. Most LICs never cross this line. The IRA cannot seize Northern Ireland any more than the PLO can conquer Israel. They have adopted LIC because they are too weak to wage decisive war.

Governments must concentrate on the larger threats that could topple them. This is the danger of Mr. van Creveld's theory; if it were accepted it could lead policy-makers to scrap conventional forces and new weapons programs, thus becoming vulnerable to these larger threats. The U.S. seems on that path with plans to reduce the Army by over 30 per cent and the tactical Air Force by over 20 per cent by 1995; the cuts are focused on the "heavy" conventional forces that just proved themselves against Iraq. Before the Gulf War the Pentagon was well on its way to considering LIC as the main problem and, as Mr. van Creveld suggests, shifting to smaller, lighter combat units under the pressure of declining budgets.

In contrast, as Third World states develop, they use their resources to create modern conventional forces (tanks, submarines, missiles) as a basis of regional power. Some are pursuing chemical and nuclear programs. As they become stronger they wish to leave the limits of LIC behind. Iraq was the typical, not the unique, case. Thus the U.S. must maintain strong and technologically advanced conventional forces to counter the real and growing threat to our foreign interests. While an LIC capability is needed, it must be in addition to conventional and nuclear forces, not as a substitute for them. □

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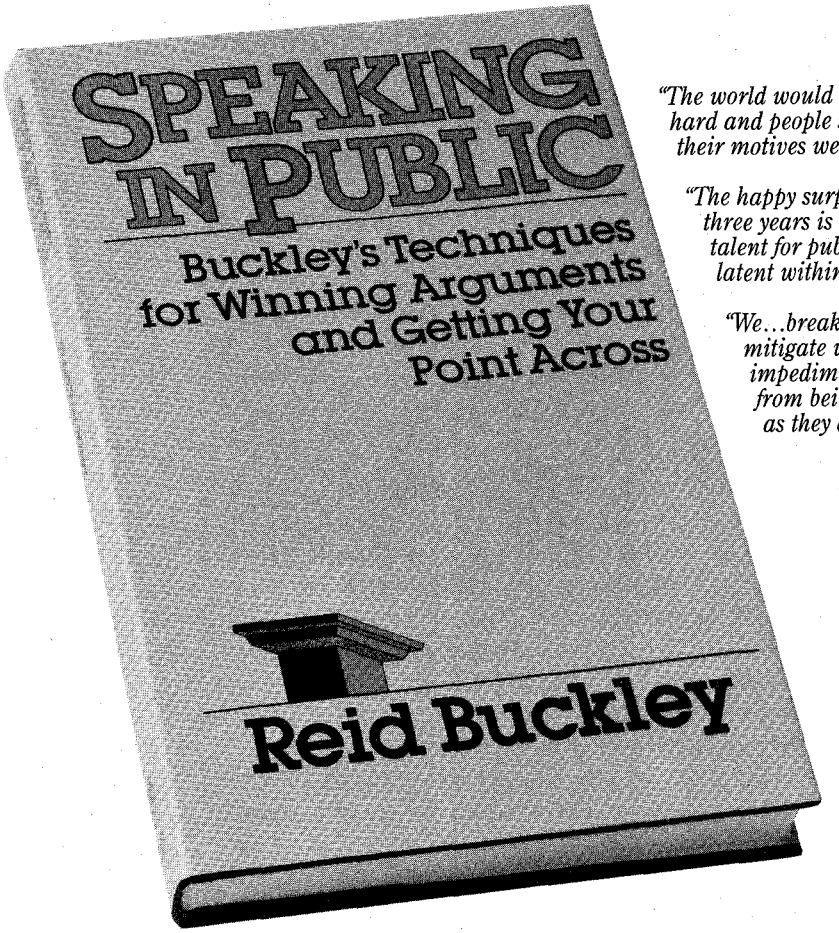

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The Gloomy Utopians

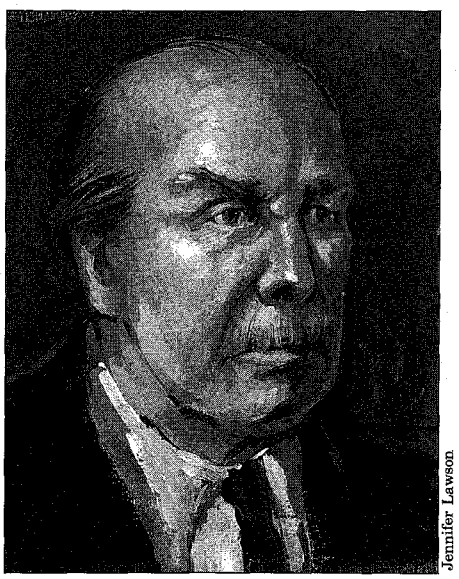
M. D. AESCHLIMAN

IN THE 17 years since the first edition of *Leftism* appeared, much has happened to vindicate the extraordinary insight and prescience of the author, Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn. Paul Johnson's *Modern Times*, Simon Schama's *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution*, and Armando Valladares's *Against All Hope*—not to mention the monumental achievements of Solzhenitsyn—have all made more popularly available facts about the leftist tradition since 1789 that Mr. Kuehnelt-Leddihn illuminated not only in the earlier edition of this book but also in his equally profound work of 1952, *Liberty or Equality?*

But even to call it merely a profound work of scholarship misses its unique virtue; it suggests the book is another academic book, which it is not. The scholarship is beyond praise; it includes primary sources in perhaps a dozen languages, handled deftly and deployed brilliantly. Mr. Kuehnelt-Leddihn has lived through much of what he writes about—in Austria, in Germany, in Spain, in Russia, in the United States. The book cries out to be read as a moral document; to be read, page by page, note by note, with the same rational and moral passion with which it was written. I know of no other recent non-fiction book that attempts so successfully to see life steadily and to see it whole.

Leftism Revisited: From de Sade and Marx to Hitler and Pol Pot, by Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn (Regnery Gateway, 520 pp., $29.95)

The French Revolution came about, Thomas Carlyle wrote, because too many men ceased doing their duty; and Nadezhda Mandelstam wrote that its even more calamitous Russian sequel came about because too many people ceased believing that they were moral beings. By contrast, the Jacobins, Bolsheviks, and National Socialists, as Mr. Kuehnelt-Leddihn argues, were filled with zeal, fanatical faith, and even the capacity for self-sacrifice,



Jennifer Lawson

though they preferred sacrificing others on the altars of their collectivist dreams. It is his thesis that Jacobins, Communists (from Russia through China to Cambodia), Fascists, and National Socialists were all leftist collectivists and atheistic radicals whose greatest enemies were the ideas of God and freedom.

Indeed, using the past-tense "were" is over-optimistic, as Mr. Kuehnelt-Leddihn shows. Though the events of the last two years in Eastern Europe have triumphantly vindicated his long-held position, he is well aware that leftism is nevertheless in the ascendant in the West in the "knowledge class" of artists, professors, editors, publishers, and journalists. Contemporary history still consists largely of oscillations between the chronic and the acute phases of secularized nihilism —sometimes represented by the glib, nihilistic aesthete, sometimes by the gloomy, moralistic radical. Since 1914 secular utopian progressivism has had crackup after crackup, each one followed by a hangover of demoralization that always gives us a new form of absurdism or transgressive obscenity.

A novelist and painter himself, Mr. Kuehnelt-Leddihn brings a deep knowledge of human subjectivity to bear in his analysis of the atheistic fanaticism of modern history and culture. Like Aldous Huxley, Jeffrey B. Russell, and Lester G. Crocker, he finds the materialistic hedonism and immoralism of the Marquis de Sade at the root of modern apostasy. Unlike most eighteenth-century *philosophes* and sentimentalists and their modern descendants, Sade knew that "nature" could never replace God as the *summum bonum* providing a moral norm for life. In the words of social psychologist Philip Rieff, "for their highest obedience, humans are compelled by god-terms that will not be treated as mere heuristic devices." Or as Dostoyevsky's haunted and haunting character Kirilov puts it, "If there is no God, I am God." (Max Stirner: "*Ego Deus mihi.*")

Decent utilitarians must live in the light of a moral tradition that they can no longer whole-heartedly defend or transmit, because its animating principle is theological. A post-theological person is ultimately a post-moral one. "We Communists teach no ethics," Mr. Kuehnelt-Leddihn quotes Marx as writing, but neither can liberal agnostic "ethicists," adding to and swimming with the current of relativism. The "whiff from the bottle" of traditional religion may last a generation—inspiring moral decency in those who wish to prove that one can be ethical *without* the religion that introduced the ethical tradition in the first place. This is a point also made by Gertrude Himmelfarb in *A Genealogy of Morals: From Clapham to Bloomsbury*, which Mr. Kuehnelt-Leddihn rightly cites.

Although most would call Mr. Kuehnelt-Leddihn a conservative, it is one of his Quixotic goals to reclaim the word "liberal" in its nineteenth-century sense. He demonstrates why and how the "liberalism" of men like Burke, Tocqueville, Burckhardt, and Acton, as well as contemporaries such as Röpke, was perverted, ignored, or redefined by the leftist campaign. He also brilliantly attacks the dogma of democratism—the vulgar, destructive, and often tyrannical idea that "majorities are always right," that "*vox populi vox Dei est.*" Hitler and Mussolini were unquestionably *popular*; so was anti-Semitic legislation in National Socialist Germany—and indeed the crucifixion of Christ.

The cultural historian Joseph Mazzeo tells us that in our culture "the idiosyncratic has triumphed over the normative." Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn's extraordinary book, like his extraordinary life, is a noble answer to the varieties of idiocy and idiosyncrasy that delude us still. □

Mr. Aeschliman is a lecturer in English literature at the University of Virginia.

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Blood Feud

BRAD MINER

EACH time some poor kid croaks on coke, there's a trail left behind: from the OD to the pusher; from him to the dealer; finally to some big supplier. Now if you wanted revenge, if, no matter what, you loved that dead kid and wanted wild justice, and if you went down that trail to *get some*, it would surely be wet work; *wet*, for the splatters, the puddles of the sticky red stuff—some of it your own—that come with the trouble.

Down low along this deadly food chain, among the rats and the roaches, the exterminating is easy, although there are always more vermin. But as you move up, up through the sharks to the men, "Revenge," as Milton put it, "at first thought sweet,/ Bitter ere long back on itself recoils." When Charley Becker, hero of Christopher Buckley's deftly plotted, precisely detailed, and remarkably funny new novel, attempts to avenge his granddaughter's death, he voyages ever deeper into the heart of darkness. And, cinematic structuring and naturalistic dialogue aside, one is tempted to say that in this novel, Mr. Buckley's writing compares not unfavorably with Conrad's. Then too there's a bit of what future critics may call "early Harold Robbins"—our hero's background is awfully heroic, suggesting that Mr. Buckley doubts tragedy alone spurs ordinary men to revenge. But let's abstain from prospective criticism; of *Wet Work* it is enough to say it's an elegant entertainment.

Wet Work, by Christopher Buckley (Knopf, 288 pp., $19.95)

The odyssey of Charley Becker, Texan, orphan, billionaire, and grandfather, leads him and his well-armed crew on a path from Manhattan's Alphabet Town, through downtown Miami, and finally into Peru's Hullaga Valley. Except for one weary DEA agent (until Becker's scorched-earth policy threatens to create an international incident), law-enforcement officials watch the mounting body count with a notable lack of interest. Frank Diatri, whose career at DEA is nearly at an end, simply has nothing better to do than follow the trail of the man he can't help thinking of as *Mr.* Becker. In one of the book's finest scenes (and ultimately one of its few disappointments, since Father Rebeta makes just two brief appearances) Diatri visits a priest who may have information, based upon a single anonymous telephone call. Of the mysterious voice on the phone (Becker's), Father Rebeta's observations are astonishingly complex, yet wholly believable. But as he says:

> "I've spent almost twenty years of Saturdays sitting in a black box listening to people spill out their souls through words. I have an appreciation of the words they choose. Like a blind man, I suppose."
>
> "I get to see their faces when they confess," Diatri said. "That way I can tell when they're pulling my chain."
>
> "Oh"—Father Rebeta smiled back—"I can tell too."

The priest goes on, with only a few clues from Diatri, not only to accurately characterize the voice, but eventually to all but actually identify its owner, even though he's never met Charley Becker. How? Listening to a tape of Becker's voice Diatri plays for him (it's a portion of an address Charley made upon receiving an expensively purchased honorary degree), the priest just about scares the hell out of the narc by calmly explaining that "it's all there on the tape."

> "The accent, clearly west of the Mississippi, less elasticity to the vowels, the glottal stops are harder. It's more twang than drawl. So, Texas. As Oscar Wilde would have said, 'My dear, *no one* is from Arizona.' It's obvious he had no formal education himself, from the tone of awe. 'Halls of higher learning,' 'ivory towers of knowledge.' Believe me, no one who ever saw the inside of a university classroom would say that. It would therefore follow that he's self-made . . ."

And so on until Diatri and the reader are convinced they're in the presence

Mr. Miner is NR*'s literary editor.*

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of the great-grandson of S. Holmes and H. Higgins.

Mr. Buckley has great fun with names: Charley Becker's mercenary aides are named Bundy, Rostow, and McNamara, and are indeed more wisemen than wiseguys. But Mr. Buckley has the most fun with the voices of some very well known Washingtonians, although depending on the level of their own good humor Messrs. Sununu, Thornburgh, Webster, and Baker may or may not be amused. "John" wants to keep "Jim" *out of the loop* on news of Becker's Peruvian expedition, because everybody knows State leaks and Jim and the Boss have no secrets. And before John goes *down the hall*, he makes sure the AG and the DCI are on board *coveragewise*. "Dick" is worried that Joe Six-Pack will think Charley Becker's a hero.

"I'm just saying—"
"I know what you're saying."
"John, I think what Dick is saying—"
"I know what Dick is saying, Bill."
"Actually, I wasn't saying that."

RANDOM NOTES

■ SADDAM AND FISH. New from Rizzoli, one of our premier art-book publishers, is *Islamic Art and Patronage: Treasures of Kuwait*, a lavish coffee-table catalogue (316 pp., $65) of an al-Sabah family collection of carpets, daggers, goblets, plates, vases, pendants, boxes, and bowls from the fifth through the eighteenth centuries. Your literary editor's first thought was to call the Iraqi mission at the UN and suggest that the noted art lover, Saddam Hussein, annotate the book, indicating which pieces were pillaged during the recent unpleasantness. Perhaps Item #104, a seventeenth-century embroidered tent hanging from Mughal India, now graces a bedroom in the Baghdad Bunker. But no. The dustjacket reassures us that a traveling exhibition of these works "was outside Kuwait at the time of the Iraqi invasion." Too bad really. I'd have enjoyed hearing from the Iraqis.

Ah, but who am I kidding? Saddam wouldn't have responded to my inquiry. Fidel didn't; and my proposal to him might actually have made him some pin money. What happened (or, more properly, what didn't) was this:

Back in '85, believe it or not, Fidel was hot. Every time you opened *Publishers Weekly* you read a story about how a Dick Snyder of Simon & Schuster or a Larry Hughes of William Morrow had flown to Havana with a proposal for a Castro autobiography, and it seemed Fidel was saying yes to everybody. Well, about this time, the estimable Joseph Epstein published his collection *Plausible Prejudices*, which included an essay about Gabriel García Márquez. In it, Mr. Epstein quoted a García Márquez interview from *Playboy* in which, speaking of his friend Fidel, the Nobel laureate said: "The man knows everything there is to know about seafood." Right, it takes a red snapper to know one.

I quickly dictated a letter to Fidel, in care of the Cuban consulate, proposing he do *Fidel Castro's Seafood Cookbook* for the house that then employed me. A friend had recently sent me a postcard bearing a photo of Fidel wearing an "I ♥ NY" T-shirt, and I figured to make up a nifty frame for my office: that photo, and the Cuban reply to my proposal. Alas, I'm still waiting.

A sad postscript to the Kuwaiti part of this tale: The hundred-plus pieces in the traveling show turn out to be just about the only al-Sabah treasures *not* looted by the Iraqis. Kuwait's ruling family spent several decades collecting Islamic art—some twenty thousand items—and making their national museum one of the best in the Middle East. Rumor has it the whole collection is now in Baghdad, which if true is not as bad as it sounds. After all, Saddam or his successors can probably be persuaded to re-load the very trucks used to steal the loot, and send them right back to Kuwait City. The more dreadful (and more likely) prospect is that the looting was chaotic, the looters numerous, and that some (many?) treasures ended up not on the Baghdad-bound caravan but in the pockets of petty thieves headed for the fences who supply the ever eager market in stolen art. That market, by the way, is the most lucrative category of international crime after drugs.

■ DENIAL AND COMMITMENT. Alf Regnery told me the publishing company that bears his name will not, as rumored, shortly abandon the publishing of conservative books. Regnery Gateway will, however, begin publishing some non-conservative genres for the first time. But, Mr. Regnery insists, these additions do not indicate that the "company's commitment" to conservatism has diminished.

Fine, but the issue isn't commitment, it's *production*. If Regnery will now publish more non-conservative work, won't it necessarily publish less conservative work? And, putting aside the personal philosophies of the company's principals, can a house that doesn't *actively* publish conservative books fairly be called conservative?

Mr. Regnery said the company's fall list will contain not one conservative title; a fact that may surprise the investors who recently committed themselves to the Regnery tradition.

Of course, this is a business decision. The trade in conservative books has been, according to Mr. Regnery, "not particularly good. Most of what we've been seeing is either a rehash of what we've already published, or interesting work that's too academic and really unsalable." Quite naturally, Mr. Regnery has no desire to see the enterprise his father launched founder and sink during his watch. Still, I can't shake the feeling this is a matter, not of icebergs, but of poor navigation.

In 1989, *NR*'s readers alone purchased more than three million books—nearly two dozen per reader, per year. The question is: Which books? That the answer has not included many of those produced by Regnery Gateway tells us little about the market. Regnery's recent successes have tended to be with books first acquired then dropped by other publishers, and few if any Regnery books, successful or otherwise, have originated "in house." Waiting for the mail to come, the phone to ring—the Blanche DuBois theory of publishing ("I've always depended on the kindness of strangers")—is the methodology of every unsuccessful editorial program.

True, Regnery did a good job publishing Charles Sykes (*ProfScam*, *The Hollow Men*), but Mr. Sykes's next book has gone to another publisher, in large measure because the author was courted by the latter, and ignored by the former.

But not to worry. The market will find a way to bring the right books to the right audience. Entrepreneurs please take note. —BRAD MINER

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"Saying what?"

"What you were telling Bill I was saying."

"Maybe the thing to do is go the ad hoc route. Let it ripen a little and look at it then."

"We could do that. We could definitely do that."

"I don't have any problem with that."

The reader is not quite sure who's speaking, and that's the point. Not every crisis is a Desert Storm, although choking clouds of sand blow all around.

Mr. Buckley's Peruvian . . . *entrepreneurs* are fascinating, chilling. Money hasn't bought them happiness—just everything else. The poison they export to the U.S. funds pleasure and politics equally, and they are local heroes, ready (oh, so very ready) to die *pro daemone et patria*. The results of Becker's War in the Amazon resemble those early, bad guesses about Desert Storm. This work is wet, all right. In the end, revenge is bitter, not even bittersweet, and yet the reader closes *Wet Work* believing recklessness preferable to desperation. □

SZAMUELY

(Continued from page 48)

farcical scenes during the first HUAC hearings on Hollywood in 1947 which led to the contempt citation against the Hollywood Ten. The subpoenaed witnesses were very confident that through their aggression they could turn the tables on their accusers. As their leader, John Howard Lawson, declared, "I am not on trial here. . . . The Committee is on trial before the American people." It so happened that their inept leftist posturing was the most disastrous strategy imaginable. So hostile was the public response to the antics of the Ten that the studio heads fired them and more or less made it clear that they would not again knowingly hire Communists.

If, on the other hand, Merrill had once maintained Communist contacts of some kind there must surely have been good reasons for his breaking them off. Yet the only difference he cites came about because, as he so cutely puts it, he "argued too much." Given that the meetings he attended occurred at the time of the Nazi–Soviet Pact, this is a somewhat anodyne recollection. And as for his being asked to name names, how many names could he possibly name if he had only attended a couple of meetings so many years ago?

The whole issue of naming names is bogus anyway. By 1951 so many Communists had already been named that it was highly unlikely that Merrill could come up with a fresh face to add to the roster. Since those named were open members of the Party it was really no secret who they were. That as a result of their having been named they would be faced with the choice of renouncing their politics or being discharged by their studios was the doing of the Hollywood moguls and not the Committee.

In leaving Merrill's politics so vague Winkler is probably trying to suggest that his defiance of the Committee is the sort of response a traditional liberal would—or at least should—have made. Sure, he went to some meetings where there were Communists present—it was just "people caring about people." Liberals and Communists were fighting the same good fight even if they had disagreements.

Yet one of the reasons why the Hollywood liberals failed to rally to the Communists was the bad feelings engendered during the Popular Front eras. As Ronald Brownstein puts it in *The Power and the Glitter*: "Liberals still talk with amazement about Communists who worked to delay votes at meetings until late in the evenings. . . . All this maneuvering for the control of what were . . . voluntary organizations gradually bred suspicion." Prominent liberals like Melvyn Douglas spoke of the need to keep Communists "out of liberal organizations." Douglas wrote: "I have as little regard for Communists as I have for the Nazis." Nor were liberals charmed by Party reprimands to Budd Schulberg for publishing *What Makes Sammy Run?* Or by the *Daily Worker*'s retraction of a review of the book at the command of John Howard Lawson. Or by the groveling apology Albert Maltz (one of the Hollywood Ten) was forced by the Party to issue for doctrinal deviation in an article in the *New Masses*.

One should perhaps not shed too many tears for Hollywood liberals who, not content with having been made to look ridiculous for their participation in the Popular Front Anti-Nazi League by the Hitler–Stalin Pact, eagerly threw in their lot with the Communists yet again in 1941, only to be disappointed this time around as well. But in any case, by 1947 the Hollywood Popular Front had broken up. Olivia de Havilland, one of the most active liberal members of the Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, declared: "I noticed that when there was conflict between Russia and the United States, Russia was always assumed to be right." She duly resigned. Incidentally, one of the darkest villains of *Guilty by Suspicion* is Darryl F. Zanuck, presumably on account of having fired Polonsky. Yet in 1939–40, Zanuck, along with other Hollywood moguls, was urging American intervention in the war against Hitler, while Polonsky was slavishly adhering to the non-interventionist CP line.

Already in 1944—years before the first HUAC hearings—prominent Hollywood figures were expressing alarm at the influence Communists exerted. The Motion Picture Alliance for the Preservation of American Ideals, whose future officers would include Gary Cooper, John Wayne, King Vidor, Robert Taylor, and Hedda Hopper, announced: "We refuse to permit the effort of Communist, Fascist, and other totalitarian-minded groups to pervert this powerful medium into an instrument for the dissemination of un-American ideas and beliefs." As for the House Committee, its investigation of Communism in Hollywood was undoubtedly oafishly conceived and executed. Yet present-day Hollywood activists who regard their political views and the causes they support as being of immense importance can hardly complain because the likes of J. Parnell Thomas and Richard Nixon agreed with them. As Ron Silver puts it: "Celebrities can attract attention. Then, once you have people's attention, you can expose them to ideas. To be famous is to have a public voice and to have a public voice is to have influence." HUAC's point exactly.

It is ironic, however, that when there were Communists in Hollywood they never really succeeded in politically influencing the content of films. Today when there are no Communists in Hollywood films are more politically didactic than ever before. At the start of *Guilty by Suspicion*, the denizens of Hollywood, fearing the wrath of HUAC, are shown burning the illicit

(Continues on page 61)

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TRANS-O-GRAM / Kem Putney

1 D	2 L		3 A	4 E	5 N		6 A	7 Q	8 G	9 F	10 C	11 T	12 H	13 M	14 O	15 D		16 S	17 N
18 R		19 P	20 L	21 H	22 E	23 M	24 Q	25 A	26 F	27 N	28 D	29 U	30 B		31 K	32 S		33 T	34 G
35 J	36 C	37 L	38 O	39 Q		40 B	41 V	42 E	43 I		44 G	45 A	46 D	47 H	48 M	49 U		50 B	51 Q
52 E	53 L		54 D	55 O		56 B	57 G	58 C	59 V		60 M	61 F	62 D		63 N	64 J	65 T	66 O	67 H
68 R	69 L	70 D	71 G	72 Q		73 T	74 F	75 L	76 C	77 A	78 P		79 N	80 K		81 E	82 G	83 Q	84 F
85 P	86 T	87 S	88 U	89 N	90 L		91 C	92 V		93 D	94 B	95 Q		96 N	97 G	98 M	99 T	100H	101S
102L	103F	104P	105D	106I		107C	108B	109Q	110D	111T		112M	113N	114F	115O		116V	117A	118E
119G		120L		121S	122L	123C		124B	125N		126C	127Q	128G	129U		130I	131M	132G	133P
134A		135E	136K	137R		138M	139V		140E	141O	142V		143H	144J	145B	146D	147O	148F	149N
	150Q	151U		152J	153U		154D	155N	156C	157Q	158I	159O		160R	161S		162L	163B	164M
165H	166G	167A	168N		169K	170M		171D	172P	173L	174O	175C		176E	177D	178U	179N	180A	181F

DEFINITIONS

A. Recluse's foe — 6 45 25 180 167 77 117 3 134

B. Site of 1889 flood — 56 108 94 145 163 124 50 40 30

C. Seventh Sunday after Easter — 107 126 36 175 58 10 76 91 156 123

D. Another word for Molly Brown — 28 15 146 70 171 93 46 177 105 54

1 154 110 62

E. "Passage" through North America — 118 135 42 140 4 81 52 176 22

F. Speedy canine — 74 103 148 181 84 114 26 61 9

G. Ready to take risks — 82 119 128 132 71 44 57 166 8 97

34

H. Silverware nuisance — 12 100 67 47 165 21 143

I. Saw — 130 106 43 158

J. Musical work — 64 35 144 152

K. Spanish lad — 136 169 80 31

L. Member of the melting pot (hyph.) — 162 2 53 173 120 69 75 37 20 102

122 90

M. Masters's "Anthology" (2 words) — 112 164 138 60 170 98 13 131 48 23

N. Military span (2 words) — 179 113 168 27 125 89 17 96 155 79

149 63 5

O. Equine nickname for a locomotive, once (2 words) — 38 174 55 115 141 14 147 159 66

P. Mideast capital in the news — 133 85 78 104 19 172

Q. One method of taking drugs — 24 157 72 7 127 51 95 39 150 109

83

R. Protuberance — 68 160 18 137

S. Laugh heartily — 87 101 161 32 16 121

T. Move forward — 73 111 65 33 86 11 99

U. Marched along — 88 151 153 29 178 129 49

V. Cause's partner — 142 139 116 41 92 59

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition. **See page 60 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.**

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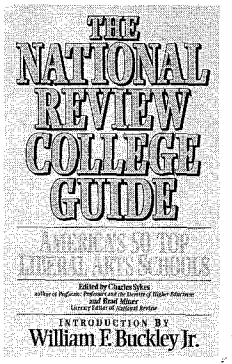

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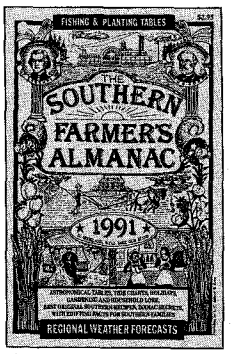

SZAMUELY

(Continued from page 58)

books on their shelves; *Catcher in the Rye* and *Ulysses* go up in flames. When Dorothy Nolan's child is taken away by nameless forces on account of her politics, the scene could have come from the tendentious *The Handmaid's Tale*. Merrill declares that he had attended a Ban the Bomb rally years before there was a nuclear-disarmament movement. The congressman who declares that Merrill's wife should be barred from influencing young minds looks and sounds awfully like Senator Jesse Helms.

Why such a film at such a time? Liberalism has been the dominant philosophy in Hollywood since the 1960s. Ronald Brownstein mentions how "the liberalism of the young stars reflected, above all, the extent to which liberalism dominated the Hollywood artistic community . . . Almost all the activist role models in the community were liberals—not only Fonda, but figures such as . . . Warren Beatty, Robert Redford, and Ed Asner. Much as young people elsewhere . . . adopted the dominant values of their surroundings by voting conservative, these young stars gravitated to the competing values of their own idiosyncratic community."

Doubtless for them the Hollywood Ten are meant to serve as "role models." For them it is important to believe that these people were vaguely "liberal"—vaguely "Communist sympathizers"—and not Communists, as Polonsky would have accurately depicted them. Merrill's denunciations are entirely fictional, but a young uninformed superstar could surely thrill to them, and imagine himself taking on the philistines of Washington.

The contemporary Hollywood activists are similar to the old Communists in their view of themselves as outsiders, as social critics, even as they pull in salaries beyond the imagination of most of us.

On the one hand, they expect the big men of Washington to come to Los Angeles and listen to what Norman Lear and Stanley Sheinbaum have to say about this or that in the world. On the other hand, they are in constant dread of Jesse Helms and the Supreme Court. Robert De Niro's arrogant but also hysterical performance at the end of *Guilty by Suspicion* encapsulated Hollywood's predicament: It likes to strike heroic postures of liberal defiance. But since the culture is a liberal one largely shaped by Hollywood, it has to invent a fearsome right-wing oppressive America against which to hurl its paranoid fulminations. □

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The Politics Of Victory

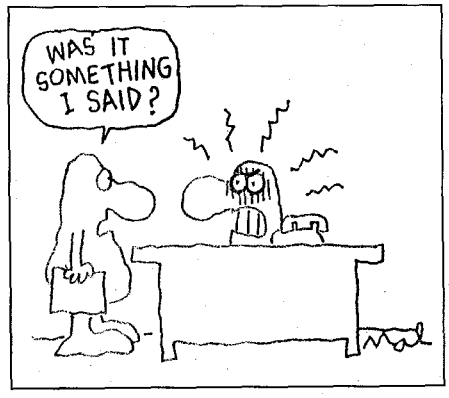
NEW YORK, MARCH 18

The Democrats (ho ho ho!) are having a difficult time absorbing the shock of our victory in the Gulf. The day the bombs stopped falling, I telephoned Professor John Kenneth Galbraith to extend my sympathies over our having won the war. On the first day of the war, he had telephoned me to remind me that bombs accomplish absolutely nothing in modern warfare, something he had established after World War II when he was a member of a two-man commission assigned by President Truman the task of establishing whether our bombs had accelerated the end of Hitler. Well, it turns out that, as in economics, Mr. Galbraith is a little behind the times in the science of modern warfare.

It is fascinating to see the maneuvers of upwardly mobile Democrats. They have for the most part agreed that the victory in the Gulf was a permanent defeat for conspicuous doubters, of whom Senator Sam Nunn is pre-eminent. Pre-eminent because he has been regarded, ever since the death of Senator Russell, as the Democratic secretary of defense without portfolio. It became clear several years ago that Mr. Nunn was seeking to make himself appealing to the Democratic Left, which has controlled Democratic primaries ever since George McGovern was selected to hand over to Richard Nixon the electoral vote of 49 states. Senator Nunn went not only wobbly, to use Mrs. Thatcher's deadly word, but irrational on the question of whether the ABM treaty would permit us effectively to test SDI. And then he sort of faded away from the whole SDI scene. His vote against standing firm in the Gulf brought down darkness over him, illuminated by the Patriot missile's death sentence on the anti-SDI crowd. Suddenly Sam Nunn was sounding like one of those people at Kitty Hawk who sniffed that that object over there put together by the Wright Brothers would not fly. As a jurist pondering what the United States could or could not do under the terms of the ABM treaty, he had ended up sounding like the presiding judge in the trial of Billy Mitchell.

And everybody in town has spotted the maneuver of the politically ambitious. Al Gore, one of the few Democratic senators who believed in using our military power before the enemy reached Key West, stresses the honest, conscientious thought given by those who voted the other way—whose support Al Gore of course would need if he were to run, once again, for President. Representative Steve Solarz of Brooklyn, who did so eloquent a job in marshaling a few Democratic votes in favor of Mr. Bush's motion to use armed force, says that without some Democratic support, the motion would not have carried. The political meaning of that can be read in various ways: 1) Some Democrats are sensible about foreign policy. 2) Most Republicans are sensible about foreign policy. Therefore, 3) continue to elect Democrats because some of them will be sensible? Or 4) don't risk it, vote for Republicans, most of whom will be sensible.

The sweatiest argument Mr. Solarz uses is that, after all, six former secretaries of defense were against the military alternative to sanctions, and you are hardly going to say that they are unpatriotic or anti-military, are you? To which the answer is: We are not talking about a lack of patriotism or a hostility to the military, we are talking about geopolitical intelligence. And to the charge that the Bush and Reagan Administrations were soft on Iraq right up to August 2, it is appropriate to say that, yes, just as Democrats are sometimes right, so Republicans are sometimes wrong. Carry that maxim with you when you go to vote.



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Mr. Bush and his spokesmen have not been nearly so vindictive as FDR was after Pearl Harbor. Such was President Roosevelt's abiding hostility to Charles Lindbergh that at one point he refused to accept him as a volunteer in the Army Air Force, and isolationists in Congress were treated mercilessly at campaign time. The lesson of which is that politics is an opportunistic profession, and it is entirely natural that as history's vectors move decisively, those who resisted them will be reminded that they were insensible to the higher interests of the nation. So why re-elect them? □

There Ought To Be a Hangin'

NEW YORK, MARCH 6

The CBS newsman Bob Simon, finally returned by the Iraqis, is quoted as saying that he would gladly be present to witness his torturers die "a painful death." To that eventuality I have philosophical objections, but I need to confess that reading about what Saddam Hussein has done stimulates an appetite for, yes, retribution.

We know all the objections: We don't want to make him a martyr. It is not clear who has jurisdiction. A tribunal on which China and the Soviet Union sat would cause the same kind of moral problems as those brought on by the tribunal at Nuremberg, where Stalin's representative passed moral judgment on the behavior of people different from Stalin only in that they lost the war. And so on.

But let us for a moment reason, as Jimmy Breslin puts it, *a posteriori*. That is, from the particular to the general. What particular do I have in mind?

Here is the scene I would find appropriate: Saddam Hussein is standing, his hands bound behind him, on a high platform. To his right, a hangman's noose. In front of him a very wide screen, with television technology standing by to send out the ensuing documentary—visible to Hussein and to the thousands of spectators surrounding him—to every country in the world.

The program could take an hour, two hours, for that matter all day. It would begin with testimony from witnesses in Kuwait City who saw the tubes snapped from the babies in the hospital, thus ensuring their death. Then, one after an-

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other, a dozen survivors of torture, who would describe what had been done to them. Then pictures of another dozen victims of torture, men and women who did not survive. Pictures of the prisoners of war who were maltreated.

Then pictures of the destruction of much of Iraq, brought on by Saddam Hussein's defiance. Pictures of the oil spill and the damage it did to the Gulf. Pictures of the burning oil wells (there is no hurry here: they will burn, some of them, for five hundred days). Pictures of one hundred thousand dead Iraqi soldiers, and of several hundred coalition soldiers. Pictures of the food, medicine, housing, and schooling that might have been financed by the $200 billion in damage caused by Saddam Hussein.

At this point a solemn figure stands forth and says: "In virtue of the finding of the . . . [this is the missing part, in *a posteriori* analysis] tribunal, we shall proceed with the sentence."

Saddam Hussein is led to the noose, which is placed over his head. The last sound he hears is the boos from the Iraqis and Kuwaitis who surround him in the huge stadium.

Now I know all about the problem of victors' justice, know the legal arguments against Nuremberg, and I have run my hands over the soft profile of the political argument against and find it unappealing. If Muslim pride is offended by executing such a Muslim as Saddam Hussein, then we ought to do something about Muslim pride, after taking care of Saddam. It does not help, granted, that—merely because he was/is a Muslim—the Saudis gave sanctuary to Idi Amin, executioner of approximately three hundred thousand. And Pol Pot is using the potty and (for all we know) inhaling pot in the serenity of some Maoist garden, perhaps contemplating two and a half million dead Cambodians, perhaps not—he may be too busy.

But those who fear outlaw justice should reflect that the Fourth Geneva Convention (and Iraq was a signatory to the Geneva Conventions) holds all signatories responsible for carrying out the terms of said Convention, and no one disputes that Saddam did not do so. Moreover, it holds that any party to the Convention that has jurisdiction over the defendant can proceed to try him. It may be a while before we can get him in the manner of an Eichmann, apprehended 15 years later, strolling the streets of Buenos Aires. Much better sooner than later, but better then than not at all.

There is no reason that occurs to us as dispositive why the Kuwaitis should not offer a no-questions-asked reward of, say, $10 million, for Saddam alive, and proceed to try him. They can easily raise the money from the television rights, and it would be a nice touch if Peter Arnett were master of ceremonies. □

So Long, And Thanks

NEW YORK, MARCH 15

I met Robert Maxwell at the extravaganza given to celebrate the seventieth birthday of the late Malcolm Forbes in Morocco. Mr. Maxwell rescued me and my wife from the oppressive heat on the first night and swooped us down to his air-conditioned yacht where, in company with his wife, we had a splendid dinner, during which he several times reminded me that he was a socialist, I several times consoled him that there is nothing much that can be done about some congenital problems; he gave me to read a biography about him which indeed I did read, confirming the general impression that he is a difficult human being and something of a genius as an entrepreneur. He is fiercely loyal to his family, while firm in insisting that he will not leave his fortune to the second generation as he doesn't believe in inherited wealth. That declamation drew a discreet wink from his devoted wife of 46 years. I do not think he took seriously my suggestion that if he had no other heirs specifically in mind, I would gladly volunteer. An interesting thought, that: he is only three years older than I am, but conceivably he might leave me the *New York Daily News*. If he does that, I shall certainly inaugurate my reign by raising the salaries of the *News*'s columnists.

Ten days ago, in Switzerland writing a book, I had a call from him. This was several days before the final deal was made, and for a half-minute or so—which is a decade of Robert Maxwell's business-hours time—we chatted about this and that. He had called me, he then said, to ask whether in my opinion the *New York Daily News* was really an integral part of New York City's culture, and I said the answer was an unequivocal yes; and I do believe I'd have given him the same answer at any point during my adult lifetime, never mind that my own column in the past has been carried by the *Journal American* (it folded), the *World Journal Tribune* (it folded), and the *New York Post*. Loyalty to one's sponsoring paper shouldn't get in the way of objective appraisals of the importance of other papers: I would not, for instance, hesitate to tell anybody that the most important paper in the country is the *New York Times*.

But the question, asked of me under the circumstances by a British citizen, raised an interesting point. It is whether a newspaper owned by a nonnational can absolutely adapt to the local cultural scene. It is widely known that many newspaper entrepreneurs buy and sell newspapers without any concern whatever for what gets printed in those papers, provided they earn their keep. Mr. Rupert Murdoch has owned publishing properties which, I warrant, you would need to tie him down, gag him, and pry his eyelids open to force him to read, so removed are they in editorial content from his own dispositions.

Now there are here and there prominent Americans who take a categorical position about foreign ownership of newspapers. Mr. A. M. Rosenthal, the great architect of the modern *New York Times*, believes flatly that the same laws that protect our radio and television stations (maximum permissible foreign ownership, 25 per cent) should extend to daily newspapers. My own view is that categorical rules of that kind are unpersuasive, but there is nevertheless a point there. To use a conscience-arousing example: Suppose that the majority stock of the *New York Times* had been owned by Saddam Hussein?

But a word or two is I think appropriate, irrespective of the welcome everyone in New York gives to the Brit who saved a valued cultural institution. It is this, that the much-reviled Tribune Company of Chicago has got very unfair treatment. When you get congressmen and cardinals and governors automatically siding with striking unions when an enterprise is losing $700,000 per day, the inequity is plain. Mr. Maxwell is about to resume publishing with approximately the same reduced work force that the Tribune Company asked for. But what had developed was personal and ideological hostilities that ended by simply excluding reconciliation between the factions at war, and this notwithstanding that if there is a more patient, better-informed, and more reasonable man in town than publisher James Hoge, he should be sent to the Mideast to solve the Israeli–Arab impasse. The Tribune Company's earnings for the entire year have been dissipated, just to keep the *News* alive; and somebody somewhere should register gratitude for an act of civic philanthropy, which is what this essay is about. □

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OFF THE RECORD

Promises, Promises. Nicaragua's President Violeta Chamorro can expect some embarrassing questions during her upcoming state visit to Washington. In particular there is the matter of her allowing El Salvador's Communist insurgents, the FMLN, to maintain an office in Managua, not exactly a gesture of neighborliness toward another democratic country. The *Washington Times* even reports that her defense minister, General Humberto Ortega (brother of former dictator Daniel Ortega), was behind the recent assassination of former Contra leader Enrique Bermúdez in Managua.

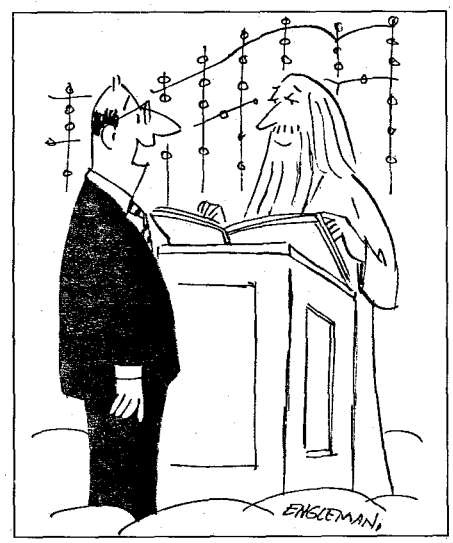
President Chamorro had already been embarrassed by the disclosure a few months back that the Sandinistas had supplied the FMLN with a number of Soviet-made SAM missiles. After a big stink, the insurgents returned all the missiles from that shipment. But Cato, who was down in San Salvador for the elections three weeks ago, is wondering where the FMLN got the matériel to shoot down a helicopter the very day after the vote.

Make Room for Robb. No good deed goes unpunished in the Democratic Party these days, and Senator Chuck Robb (D., Va.)—whose vote with the President on the use of force against Iraq separated him from most Democrats—has now found himself ousted from the Budget Committee. Majority Leader George Mitchell (D., Me.) and Committee Chairman James Sasser (D., Tenn.) claim the Budget Committee was simply too unwieldy, but Senator Robb contends the real reason was his refusal to toe the liberal line.

Even liberal Democrats are now conceding it's not going to help their cause if it appears they are seeking vengeance against those who were proved right on Iraq. Bolstering Senator Robb's contention is a statement from Senator Paul Simon (D., Ill.) that *he* had offered to get off the committee late last year, but the offer was refused (so far no one has picked up on this little nugget from the March 16 *National Journal*). Conservatives point out that what precipitated Senator Phil Gramm's switch to the GOP was his own ouster from the Budget Committee. Indeed, rumor has it that the only thing holding Senator Robb back from making the switch himself is his marriage to Lynda Bird Johnson.

My Fellow Republican. On his trip to the Soviet Union last month, Senator Alfonse D'Amato handed Boris Yeltsin a letter signed by six colleagues praising the president of the Russian Republic for his "courageous championing" of democracy and concern for the Baltics, and extending an official invitation to come to America to "inaugurate a new and important era in Russian–American relations." Mr. Yeltsin's response, Cato hears, was positive. He wants to come—but as a head of state, not as a "leader of the opposition." Mr. Yeltsin also talked of launching bilateral relations between the U.S. and the Russian Republic. Your move, Secretary Baker.

Say It's So, Joe. Representative Jack Buechner (R., Mo.), who supported President Bush on raising taxes, lost in the November elections by a scant 46 votes. His replacement was Joan Kelly Horn, a Catholic mother of six who ran the Missouri Women's Political Caucus and led the abortion-rights Freedom of Choice Council. In just a few weeks in office Mrs. Horn has already distinguished herself as coming from the Paul Wellstone school of Democrats, in substance if not in style. The good news is that Mrs. Horn's stay in Washington may be brief. Cato hears that Joe Duggan, a former assistant managing editor at *The American Spectator* and aide to both Jeane Kirkpatrick and Edward Rowny, is being pushed by St. Louis conservatives to enter the GOP primary. Oh, yes, the district gave Bush 61 per cent of the vote in 1988.



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"Am I glad to be here! I was ordered to report for an IRS audit tomorrow."

Nunn Too Soon. If we needed any sign that Senator Sam Nunn (D., Ga.) was wounded in action, Senator John Warner (R., Va.)—formerly known as a wholly owned subsidiary of Senator Nunn—made it clear when he offered an amendment that would allow "the development and testing of systems designed to defend the United States and its armed forces from ballistic missiles." The amendment would effectively overturn the hated ABM treaty, which has been the biggest obstacle to Star Wars. Senator Warner ultimately withdrew the amendment when he found himself outmaneuvered, but the point was taken. As one Hill staffer puts it, "The fact that John Warner is saying in public that Sam Nunn is wrong about *anything* is an enormous piece of news." Back to you, Senator Nunn.

PC. When Tom Jipping was invited to participate in a panel on "political correctness" at a conference of the Association of American Universities on March 18, he thought the tide was turning; Mr. Jipping, after all, is known for helping to push conservative judicial nominations through Congress. But then the AAU's Peter Smith—former press secretary to Senator Joe Biden (D., Del.)—removed Mr. Jipping from the list on the grounds that his work for the conservative Free Congress Foundation "might impede his receptivity." Sounds like PC on PC, but Mr. Smith says that's "bulls--t, and you can quote me on that." We just did. —CATO

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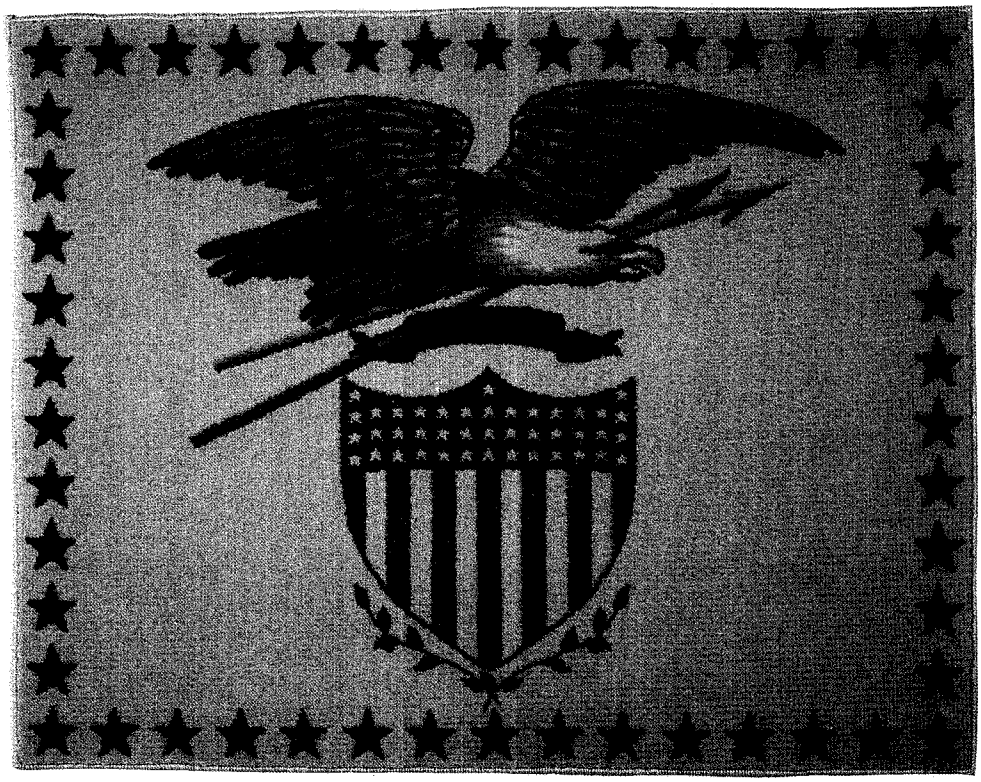

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